Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

ESSAYS

ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF

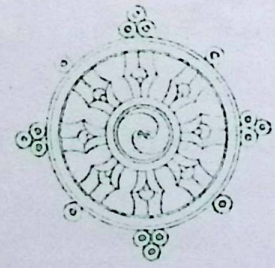
NEPAL AND SOUTH ASIA

I

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

BIBLIOTHECA HIMALAYICA

SERIES III VOLUME 3



EDITED BY

H. K. KULOY

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

ESSAYS

ON THE ETHNOLOGY

OF

NEPAL AND SOUTH ASIA

I

BY

ALEXANDER W. MACDONALD

RATNA PUSTAK BHANDAR
KATHMANDU NEPAL 1983

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

ALEXANDER W. MACDONALD:

ESSAYS ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF NEPAL AND SOUTH ASIA

Edition : 1984

305.8
M145e

THE PURPOSE OF
BIBLIOTHECA HIMALAYICA
IS TO MAKE AVAILABLE WORKS
ON THE CIVILIZATIONS AND NATURE
OF CENTRAL ASIA AND THE HIMALAYAS

BIBLIOTHECA HIMALAYICA

© H. K. Kulöy

ACC-No
27019

Printed by : Bhargava Offsets, Varanasi.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Preface

The suggestion to group together in one volume and in English translation a selection of my articles came originally from my friend and colleague at the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Dean Prayag Raj Sharma. In a country where Sylvain Lévi is worshipped but has not yet been adequately translated, one naturally hesitates to accept such a suggestion: I finally consented on the grounds that it is useful to be read. However, when the titles of the articles selected were scrutinized by the Faculty Board, it was decided that the volume could only be accepted as a publication of the Institute if all the articles concerned Nepal. This I could not agree to, for three reasons. First, such a volume would have given a one-sided view of my activity; secondly, if sociological research is to be given real impulsion in Nepal, it cannot be confined within the political borders of one country; thirdly, it is to be presumed that the title of our Institute corresponds to the activities we cultivate therein. Fortunately at this point Hallvard Kuløy and Ratna Pustak Bhandar proposed to accept the volume for publication in "Bibliotheca Himalayica". I am most grateful to them for this helping hand.

It seemed best to print the articles in the chronological order in which they originally appeared. Obviously today I would prefer to re-caste or at least re-phrase several of these articles. Much work has since been done on many of the matters discussed in these papers and some of my strictures are no longer valid. However, adequate library facilities were not at my disposal here for bringing all the articles up to date. So rather than patch up one or two of them with the help of the literature available, all have been translated practically unchanged. The original illustrations could not be reproduced. I would point out that the English originals of many passages quoted in French in these articles were not available for consultation in Kathmandu. So it is only to be hoped that the number of mistakes consequent on re-translation is not important. If any author finds that he has been misquoted, I trust he will realise that such was never my intention.

Two articles of mine concerning Nepal will appear shortly in English translation in a volume entitled Spirit Possession in Nepal, to be edited by John T. Hitchcock and published by Aris and Phillips, Ltd., Warminster, England. For copyright reasons they could not be included here. The original titles of these two articles were "Notes préliminaires sur quelques jhākri du Muglān", published in the Journal Asiatique, 1962, p. 107-139 and "La sorcellerie dans le code népalais de 1853", published in l'Homme, VIII, I, 1968, p. 62-69. Apart from the book which I published in collaboration with Saṅs-rgyas bstan-'jin Documents pour l'étude de la religion et de l'organisation sociale des Sherpa, I, Junbesi-Nanterre, 1971, other articles which I have published about Nepal, and which are not in the present volume, are: "Sur un sārāṅgi de Gāine" (written in collaboration with Mireille Helffer) in, Objets et Mondes, VI, 2, Paris, 1966, p. 133-142; "Le fruit de l'effort: un conte népali de l'est", in the Journal Asiatique, 1968, p. 419-444; "A Nepalese copper-plate from the time of Prithivinarayan Shah's father", in Kailash, 1, 1, Kathmandu, 1973, p. 6-7; "The Lama and the General", in Kailash, 1, 3, Kathmandu, 1973, p. 225-233; and "Sociology and Anthropology in Nepal" in Social Science in Nepal, Kirtipur, 1974, p. 27-38.

I am grateful to Mireille Helffer for permission to publish in English translation the article which we wrote together on Nepali sung verse: and I wish to thank Bob Critchfield, Manager of the University Press, for his helpful technical advice and his good humour in time of stress.

A.W. Macdonald

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

The articles to be found below were originally published under the following titles:

1. "A propos de Prajāpati" in the Journal Asiatique 1952, Paris Imprimerie Nationale, p. 323-338.

2. "Une note sur les mégalithes tibétains" in the Journal Asiatique 1953, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, p. 63-76.

3. "Juggernaut reconstruit" in the Journal Asiatique 1953, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, p. 487-528.

4. "Quelques remarques sur les chasses rituelles de l'Inde du Nord-Est et du Centre" in the Journal Asiatique 1955, Imprimerie Nationale, p. 101-115.

5. "La notion du sambhogakāya à la lumière de quelques faits ethnographiques" in the Journal Asiatique 1955, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, p. 229-239.

6. "Notes sur la claustration villageoise dans l'Asie de Sud-Est" in the Journal Asiatique 1957, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, p. 185-210.

7. "The application of a South East Asia conception of History to Mainland South East Asia "in Historians of South East Asia, edited by D.G.E. Hall, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 326-335.

8. "Le Népal" in Le Monde du Sorcier, Collection: Sources Orientales, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1966, p. 281-304.

9. "Les Tamang vus par l'un d'eux" in l'Homme, VI, I, 1966, Paris, Mouton, et Cie, p. 27-58.

10. "Un aspect des chants des gāine du Népal" in Essays offered to G.H. Luce by his colleagues and friends in honour of his seventy-fifth birthday, Artibus Asiae, Ascona, 1966, vol. I, p. 187-194.

11. "Remarques sur le vers népali chanté" (written in collaboration with Mireille Helffer). 1ere partie: l'Homme, VIII, III, 1968, Paris, Mouton et Cie, p. 37-95. 2e partie: l'Homme, VIII, IV, 1968, Paris, Mouton, et Cie, p. 58-91.

12. "Notes sur deux fêtes chez les Thāru de Dāṅg" in Objets et Mondes, IX, I, printemps 1969, Paris, p. 69-88.

13. "La hiérarchie des jāt inférieurs dans le 'Muluki Ain' de 1955" in Échanges et Communications, Mélanges offerts à C. Lévi-Strauss, Paris, Mouton et Cie, 1970, p. 139-152.

14. "Notes népalaises: la fête du janaipurnimā et le Gosāĩkuṇḍa", in Langues et Techniques, Nature et Société, vol. II Paris, Editions Klinck sieck, 1971, p. 73-82.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Table of Contents

Page

Preface ..... P vii

On Prajāpati ..... P 1

A note on Tibetan megaliths ..... P 15

Juggernaut reconstructed ..... P 27

Some observations on ritual hunts in North-East and Central India ..... P 61

The concept of Saṃbhogakāya in the light of some ethnographic data ..... P 73

Notes on the cloistering of villages in South-East Asia ..... P 81

The application of a South-East Asia centric concept of history to Mainland South-East Asia ..... P 103

The healer in the Nepalese world ..... P 113

The Tamang as seen by one of themselves ..... P 129

An aspect of the songs of the Gaine of Nepal ..... P 169

Remarks on Nepali sung verse ..... P 175

Notes on two festivals among the Tharu of Dāṅg ..... P 267

The hierarchy of the lower jāt in the Muluki Ain of 1955 ..... P 281

Nepalese notes: the Janaipurnimā and the Gosāĩkuṇḍa ..... P 297

Word Index ..... P I

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

On Prajāpati

In the introduction to his great work on the Barabuḍur,[1] Paul Mus comments that "the Brahmanical identification of the parts of the altar with the parts of the body of Prajāpati, who is the male, the supreme Puruṣa, whose real person is the world, is, as a matter of fact bound up with the famous hymn 90 of the late 10th book of the Ṛg Veda (the "Puruṣaṣūkta") where the world and living beings, notably the four castes, are said to have issued from the body of this mythical giant... From this particular view-point", adds Mus, "and taking into account all the ethnographic links which surround it, the myth does not seem to be of Aryan origin. Doubtless it has been noted that the Scandinavian peoples knew of a mythical giant Ymir, whose skull was the vault of heaven. But the early Veda do not refer to this; and even if one admits that the legend might have been known among the people outside the circle of hymn-writers, this indirect clue loses much of its importance in view of the fact that the religious ethnography of South East Asia and its Pacific dependencies knows the theory of the cosmic man and that of the production of animal and vegetable species, as well as celestial beings and material objects from his body".

In 1938, A.M. Hocart for his part stressed the fact that "myths of the same type as those in the Ṛg Veda X, 90, are not restricted to India. They are universal. They describe most frequently the creation of the world and of man in general, but sometimes they refer to the divisions of society, rather like the Viṣṇu Purāṇa I, 6,6, and the Code of Manu I, 87, ss; these latter do so more positively, however, since they are popular and not scholarly versions. Their main theme is that the forefather, at the moment of his advent, assigns to each branch of his family, in order of seniority, tasks which they are to perform in the state ceremonial". And Hocart adds: "We are faced with an alternative: either all these myths derive from India after the composition of the Puruṣa hymn, or this hymn is simply the Indian version of a much older myth, pre-dating Aryan culture in India. The first hypothesis would not seem to fit the facts; and we are left with no choice but to accept the second" [2].

Can we today take the analysis of this myth further and in doing so clarify the reasons for its being so widespread? Such an analysis might lead us perhaps to a better understanding of the background to the literary birth of Prajāpati.

First, let us back up Mus' remarks with some references. The peoples of Indonesia have a good number of myths in which a human sacrifice is found to be at the origin of edible plants. Gudmund Hatt has recently summarised many of these myths[3]. He finds that whereas in Indonesia the person sacrificed is usually female, in New Guinea, Melanesia and Polynesia he is usually of the male sex. Sometimes it is a child who is sacrificed as, for instance, in the myth which I.H.N. Evans gives in his book Studies in Religion, Folklore and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula [4].

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

If we move up towards the North-West, several other populations furnish creation-myths which involve dismemberment. The Kachins of Upper Burma, referring to their origins, say: "Truly, the earth is already in good condition; but it still lacks roads: it is Nink Kong who will open them; under his arm he takes his sister 'Ndin Lakong, who is a ball of thread, and unwinds a portion over China and returns to his palace: and there's a fine road to China.[1] He then goes towards the Shan States, and once more unwinds his sister, and so makes the Shan road. And in like manner he opens the roads to the countries of the Kachin of Burma and of Kala"[5]. At first sight, it would appear that we are dealing with a matrimonial analogy; and it is certainly from this view-point that Lévi Strauss considers this myth when he quotes it in his thesis[6]. Yet it seems that the version quoted by Gilhodes overlies another given by Scott. In Scott's version[7] the child of a brother and sister, sole survivors from the flood, is killed by an old female Nat with whom the parents have taken refuge. She cuts the child up into bits at the meeting-point of nine roads and scatters the remains and the blood over the roads and the surrounding countryside. But she keeps some of the child's flesh, prepares a curry from it, and offers it to the mother to eat. The latter accepts it, then, realising what she has just done, she goes to the cross-roads and begs the great Nat to give her back her child. He replies, "I cannot restore your child, but I will, however, make you mother of all the peoples of the earth." Then from one road sprang the Shans, from another the Chinese, from another the Burmese and the Bengalis and all the races of the earth; and the poor mother recognised them all as her children. But they did not wish to acknowledge her as their mother and insisted that she prove herself by accomplishing some miracles. Thereupon she became angry and told them: "If you do not wish to consider me as your mother, then in that case you will have to support me." And since that time, whenever they are in trouble, she asks for their pigs and their cattle, and if they do not want to offer them, she feeds on their very life. So, whenever someone is ill, the Chingpaw say, "We must eat to the nats." Scott adds that, in another version of the story which he heard in the Katha district, the brother is not mentioned. The girl becomes pregnant without the help of a husband. The races which are born from the fragments of the child are called the Hnon, the Mayan and the Lapaik, the North, the West, and the East [8].

Among the Miao highlanders of northern Indochina, Father F.M. Savina found the following legend[9]. Brother and sister, sole survivors from the flood, after consulting the wish of the "master of heaven", marry. "The child born of this union had neither head, nor hands, nor feet; it was round like an egg. Perhaps the child is inside the egg, they said, let us cut it open. There was no child in the egg, but as fast as they cut it, the pieces which fell to the ground turned into children. Seeing this, they cut it into the smallest possible fragments. In this manner they had an infinite number of children and the earth was re-populated once more" [10].

In China itself, I do not know of a myth which explains the creation of the world as emanating from the sacrifice of an exceptional being; but there are some documents which involve the reinforcement of the world

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

through the dismemberment of a human-being. An anti-Taoist pamphlet, written in 590 A.D., describes the transformation of the body of Lao-tseu after his death. Here is an English translation of the passage quoted by H. Maspero: "Lao-tseu transformed his body. His left eye became the sun, his right eye the moon; his head became Mount K'ouen-louen, his beard became the planets and the mansions of the heavens; his bones became serpents; his stomach became the sea; his fingers became the Five Peaks; his body-hair became the trees and the grass; his heart became (the constellation) the Milky Way; and his two kidneys, joining together, became the Father and the Mother of Reality, Tchen-yao fou-mou." H. Maspero tells us that "Tchen Louan adds later that Lao-tseu turned his liver into the Palace of the Green Lord, Ts'ing-to kong ... and he comments that if Lao-tseu had his heart, his liver and his lungs in the sky (since they formed constellations) and his head on the earth (since it formed the Mount K'ouen-louen), he was in the position of a man upside-down, his body in the air, precipitated head first from the Sky to the Earth" 11.

H. Maspero has also translated the legend of P'an-kou, related by Jen Fang in the VIth century A.D., "Long ago, when P'an-kou died, his head became the Four Peaks; his eyes became the sun and the moon; his flesh became the rivers and the seas; his hair and his beard became the grasses and the trees. At the time of the Ts'in and the Han, it was said among the people that P'an-kou's head was the Eastern Peak, his stomach the Central Peak, his left arm the Northern Peak, his feet the Western Peak. Old-style scholars relate that P'an-kou's tears are the rivers, that his breath is the wind, his voice the thunder, the pupils of his eyes: lightning" 12.

From Sikkim, there is a legend where a demon installs himself in a tree and annoys the people who surround him so much that they decide to cut down the tree. The demon flees from tree to tree and the angry people attack him with arrows and even with their knives. The details are interesting and are worth quoting in full: "Those who approached and stood near the demon at the moment of his death are the Aden-mu (the Adinpuso?), a family of kings. As he breathed his last gasp, a family by the name of Luksom-mo, second only to the family of kings, stood next to him. Then came the family of Sanut-Mung. More than a hundred families helped in the dismemberment; and from the pieces of his flesh came a great variety of wasps, among others the hornet (tik), the yellow wasp-hornet (ta-lyo), the ta-lyam, another kind of wasp, and the sum-myar, a big wasp, along with a large variety of ordinary black flies like the sum-bryoung. The demon's bones when they were thrown in the air became mosquitoes (sait)"13. In this case the dismemberment results in the transformation of one being into others of a species which is different, although equally noxious.

The Lepchas too have a song which deals with the making of a human form by the creator Tashey-takbo-thing who used for this purpose earth and mud, having failed in a previous attempt where he had used butter14. Breath entered into this semblance of a man and life was created. "Then Tashey-takbo-thing made blood from water and put it (in the statue); and

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

from stone he created bones. Then he went some distance away to see if his creature could answer and speak to him, but, as it had neither veins nor nerves, it could not. Seeing this, Tashey-takbo-thing gathered a large quantity of climbing-plants from the jungle, and from these which he spread all over the form, it spoke. Thus the first man was created." The interesting thing about this myth is that in this case human life is created from natural elements, and not vice versa as is so often the case.

As for Tibet, Professor G. Tucci comments on the Klu ąbum: "One finds there the story of a certain Klu-mo born from the void: she was called Klu-rgyal-mo srid-pa-gtan-la-p'ab-pa, "the queen of the Klus who was an ornament to life'; from the top of her head came the sky (gnam); from the light of her right eye came the moon; from the light of her left eye came the sun; from her upper teeth the four planets. When the Klu-mo opened her eyes, it was day; when she closed them, it was night; from her other twelve upper and lower teeth arose the lunar mansions. From her voice, came the thunder (skar ma); from her tongue, the lightning; from her breath, the clouds; from her tears, the rain; from the flesh of her tongue, the hail; from her nostrils, the wind; from her blood, the five oceans; from her veins, the rivers; from her flesh, the earth; from her bones, the mountains and so on" [15].

Professor Tucci stresses the fact that no mention is made of the sacrifice of the Klu-mo as primordial cause of this creation (at least not in the Klu ąbum), but he recalls that the legends of Eastern Tibet are clearer on this point. These legends tell of the murder of a nine-headed monster by the hero called Don-gsum-mi-la Sñon-mo. From the corpse the hero built the castle of Gliṅ and the whole country of Gliṅ; with his head, his bones, his ribs, and his arms he constructed the castle; from his lungs he formed the Golden Mountain, or Sumeru; from his stomach he made the valley of Go-ma; from his guts the Rgyu-ma; from his eyes, the Ts'an-ya, and so on [16].

Today we know -- thanks to the works of Verrier Elwin -- that present-day peoples of Central India are also aware of the idea that, from the transformation of an exceptional being, a world can be born [17].

All this goes to show that Mus' assertion, in so far as it concerns South East Asia, is fully justified. Modern ethnography and certain texts demonstrate the persistence of myths of this kind across immense geographical areas, and very long periods of time. The very fact of the presence of this myth among the Miao would by itself make one consider the possibility of the myth's having been spread in Asia solely from Vedic sources, as very improbable.

I do not intend to draw up here a complete catalogue of the recensions of the myth of Prajāpati, as found throughout the literatures of India. Readers of the Barabuḍur will have been convinced long since of the importance of this leitmotiv in post-Vedic Indian thought. Nevertheless I should like to point-out that in this work Mus is concerned

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

almost exclusively with what one might call "orthodox religious thought", such as one finds it in the Brāhmaṇa, the Upaniṣad, and the Buddhist canons. He does not stress the fact that the myth has ties with shamanist rites. We should recall that the aim of initiatory dismemberment (as described, for example, by H. Ling Roth) is to make the initiate's limbs more solid, to give him if possible limbs of iron [18].

Do the struggles to divide the relics of the Buddha represent other efforts to reconstruct the body of Prajāpati?[19] If we have understood Mus correctly, that would seem to be his opinion. However the idea of creative dismemberment is certainly very old in shamanism. Aśoka, at the time when he caused the famous 84,000 stūpa to be built, could have been inspired by shamanist tradition just as much as by the religious tradition which goes back beyond the Brāhmaṇa to hymn 90 of the 10th book of the Ṛg Veda.

The "Aryan background" of which Mus speaks is outside my field. Nevertheless I have noticed in Iran the concept of a Primordial Man called Gayōmard and of a Primordial Bull called Gāuš Aēvōdāta[20]. By the sacrifice of the former, men are born; through the sacrifice of the latter, animals are born. The identification of Gayōmard with metals is particularly stressed by the texts [21].

Mus has also observed that there is "attested, parallel to the myth, the practice of putting to death a human being for the collective profit of those who offered him, a sacrifice which is followed by a dismemberment, or even the dismemberment of the victim while he is still alive". The author adds: "the cruel form which the sacrifice of meriah used to take, hardly more than a century ago among certain primitive tribes of India, is well known. The man was bound to the stake and each person tore off a piece of his flesh until there was nothing left of him. Then the participants would each go and bury his own portion in his best field. One can easily reconstitute the conception by which these practices were inspired more or less explicitly, for it is attested very widely. In other areas, notably in Egypt, it has been given systematic and philosophical expression which contributes retrospectively to its clarification. All the same, let us not attach too much weight to systematic interpretations; at the level at which we are trying to place ourselves, which is that of the indigenous popular antecedents of the Puruṣasūkta, we are concerned with agrarian rituals and not with contemplative metaphysics; there is no question of our writing de Iside et Osiride" [22].

Let us take up once more Mus' analysis. Has he grasped the full significance of this rite? It seems to me that, preoccupied above all with his search for traces of the cosmic Great Male, he has failed to examine thoroughly the complex meaning of the ritual. This sacrifice, the purpose of which is the impregnation of the soil by the insertion in the earth itself of parts of the body of the person sacrificed, is certainly an attempt to stiffen, to provoke the fertility of the earth. One can agree with Mus about this. Few societies, however, have viewed creation as a purely male business; and for the Gonds, as for many other

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

tribes, the earth is of the feminine sex[23]. This is a fact with an important claim to attention. Good harvests will result from the entry of the body of the person sacrificed, a male, into the earth, which is feminine. Here we have a kind of symbolic coupling,[24] whereas the Creation described by the Puruṣasūkta takes an "androgynous" form. This difference seems to me important.

The careful examination of some examples of an essential accessory to the meriah sacrifice backs up my interpretation. Verrier Elwin, the great specialist of the aboriginals of Central India, recently wrote thus: "The stake to which the victim was tied was an important object in the paraphernalia of the meriah sacrifice and replicas of these stakes are still made and erected in their poor huts by the Kuttia Konds of North West Ganjam. These stakes, about 5 or 6 feet high, are generally forked, for it is said it was easiest to tie the sacrifice to that shape-- the victim's head was sometimes pulled back across the fork"[25]. The beautiful plates on pages 180, 181 of that same work illustrate this description. I think the purely materialistic explanation of the form of these stakes is incomplete. In my view, there is a representation intended: that of the feminine sex. Have we not here the representation not only of a feminine sex, that of the earth, but also the schematic representation of a body upside down? It may be argued that my analysis is too interpretative, that the Gonds themselves do not say all this. But the likeness between these stakes and the Y-posts of certain Naga tribes calls for recognition. I would like to recall particularly the Lishe Genna of the Angami Nagas. Professor J.H. Hutton has described this genna in the admirable monograph he devoted to this tribe,[27] but in an article in 1922, he returned to this subject and considerably enlarged on his descriptions of the rite[28]. In this article, he writes: "It is by means of two stakes, one forked and one straight, that prosperity (resulting from a Festival of Merit which is the sign of this prosperity)[29] is spread through the entire village ... It is said specifically that the forked stake represents the reproductive organs of the woman and the other represents the male organ. One may rightly conclude", says Professor Hutton, "that the significance of these emblems, when one finds them elsewhere in the same region, is the same as in the village of Kohima, although in the case of other Naga tribes their significance seems to have been forgotten and reduced to a simple association between the erection of the emblems and the prosperity of the individual who has them erected; thus the stake to which the sacrificial mithan is attached has become a simple memorial of the feast which follows"[30]. We do not wish to suggest that there were cultural contacts between Gonds and Nagas. We are merely noting similar modes of thought[31]. For the study of the sacrificial stake of the meriah only serves to clarify the sexual symbolism of the rite.

Let us emphasize another profound difference between agrarian rituals and the myth of Prajāpati. It is the general fertility of the soil which preoccupies the community at the time of these rites. In theory, this fertility is not distributed hierarchically. Fertility is solicited for each member of the group, without distinctions of social rank, at the moment when the entry of the meriah into the earth is being prepared.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

One must not take the analogy between the myth we are studying and certain agrarian rites too far. We are not even certain that it is at the level of agrarian rites that one should start if one wants to look for the origin of the myth among the rituals[32]. If such is his argument, we will willingly concede to Mus that these agrarian rites could have contributed to the wide distribution of the myth. If one uses these rites merely to see under what conditions the myth was born, one will necessarily be drawn to the Middle East and the beginnings of agriculture early in the Neolithic age. The oldest texts would therefore point to a field of study not far from the area to which we are led by theoretical conclusions of ethnology. But is it not possible that this myth dates from before the time of the beginnings of agriculture? This is what I believe. For there are rites other than agrarian rites which deal with creative dismemberment. A.I. Richards, in Africa,[33] and H.N.C. Stevenson, in Burma,[34] have made some studies of the rites in question. The essential point in these rites is the sharing-out of the animal sacrifice among the members of the community, this being done in such a way that it establishes or re-establishes the position of each member in the social hierarchy. The animal sacrificed was doubtless originally the animal caught in the hunt. Meat, the product par excellence of the hunt, was a rare commodity for many of the members of the primitive community; that the sharing out of this asset was done unequally is not at all surprising. The strong man, the accomplished hunter, the priest on whose activities the smooth succession of the seasons depends, the maker of arms or of instruments, these will not receive the same portion as the unskilled adolescent [35].

Doubtless one could find in the festivals, where the products of the hunt are shared out, traces of totemist communion. In any case it is clear that the share- out, which defines the rank of the individual in the group, is a sharing of food. Let us recall some remarkable lines written by Mus himself: "In its most elementary form, the passage of substance from the milieu which contains a being to the being in person is, in effect, a communion by consumption. One becomes that which one eats; straight-forward truth, and yet again magic truth, which lends support, in very diverse fields, to the rite of communion in food. Puruṣa, another name for whom is, precisely, "the Sacrifice", and from whose substance all beings are made, figures in the Brāhmaṇa and the Upanisad as the supreme food, the cosmic food. He is the cosmos as aliment and foreshadows the essential structure of the Buddhist cosmos in that beings consume him unequally according to their level of existence in the symbolic world which is his body ... Such is the model Brahmanism could offer to Buddhism: a distributive cosmology which situates the individual being by means of the participation of each order of creation in the cosmic substance, considered on the one hand as their mystic sustenance-- which amounts to saying that each being is made, by communication of substance, from that which surrounds and touches him-- and, on the other hand, as the body itself of the supreme god, whose perpetual sacrifice nourishes the universe" [36].

The festivals of which we are speaking mark moments when the community is gathered together. At the time of such a gathering, the rules

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

which normally govern relations between the sexes are often suspended; these are moments of promiscuity. Incest may become the rule there. One will notice the incidence of incest in several of the recensions of the Mahāpuruṣa hymn [37].

At later stages of cultural evolution it will not be the sharing-out of wild animals which will establish the hierarchy. But it would be wrong to consider the facts in the light of our well established categories — wild and domestic. Before it was domestic, the animal was wild. In many sacrificial rituals, the domestic animal is killed just as the hunted animal is killed, or as it used to be killed in the hunt. Later still in the development of the society, the moral or physical influence of the individual will not have the same effect. It will be the surplus which will enable certain individuals to attain a higher rank in the community. One will notice a loss of individuality.

The quartering of an animal implies the appropriation by the group of the ground on which the animal was killed; one presumes the existence of hunting rights between groups living in symbiosis. The animal hunted by one group will not always be the animal hunted by the neighbouring group. There were seasonal variations in the hunting customs and the grounds used for hunting.

It is because of preconceived ideas about the practice and development of the idea of the substitute-sacrifice that researchers have a tendency to trace every sacrifice back to a human sacrifice. The Brāhmaṇa, for example, provide us with ready-made lists of examples of substitution; and this shows that the theoreticians of sacrifice base their arguments on facts[38]. It is true that, for instance, the cock is sometimes the substitute sacrificed for the buffalo which is itself only the substitute for the man[39]. However the quasi-automatic search for human sacrifice concentrates the researchers' attention on agrarian retuals where cases of human sacrifice are well attested. Certainly, the supreme sacrifice in many cases has been the sacrifice of a man. But man, the Brāhmaṇa tell us, is an animal[40]. For their authors there is, therefore, no qualitative difference whatever between the sacrifice of a man and that of an animal. Neither should we lose sight of the fact that the cannibal himself eats other things besides human flesh. I think it is impossible to argue that it is from human sacrifice that the ideas of unequal communion could have developed. The sharing of the sacrificial body in the rites of the meriah type leads to the sinking of parts of his body in the soil itself so as to enhance the general fertility of the earth. It does not lead to a hierarchisation of the group who lives on that land. Rather would I postulate the development of such hierarchising ideas as a consequence of the unequal distribution of the products of the earth, above all: the products of the hunt.

Prajāpati is the male; the hunt is essentially the occupation, the business of the males of the community. It is the males whose ranks are fixed in these moments of coming together which are marked by communal banquets.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

According to Mus, when one seeks out the indigenous antecedents of the myth of the Puruṣa, one should try to go back again "to the level ... of agrarian rituals"; my view is that one should take into account those rituals where the product of the hunt re-establishes the hierarchy of the group. Doubtless shamanist thought has also played a role in the diffusion of the myth. The existence of similar structures of thought has been established. Certainly the myth of Prajāpati cannot be explicited in one single analysis. Prajāpati, as soon as he appears in literature, is a complex personage, made up of various trends and traditions, a synthetic personage. Aryan India has already penetrated pre-Aryan India. It should not be forgotten that the 10th book of the Ṛg Veda, is of a late date.

NOTES

1. Barabuḍur. Esquisse d'une histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes, Hanoi, 1935, p. *116.

2. Les Castes, Paris, 1938, p. 38-39.

3. The Corn Mother in America and Indonesia, in Anthropos, XLVI; 1951, p. 853-914.

4. Çambridge, 1923, p. 45-47.

5. C. Gilhodes, The Kachins; their religion and mythology, Calcutta, 1922, p. 18.

6. Les structures élémentaires de la parenté, Paris, 1949, p. 289.

7. Sir J.G. Scott, Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, Rangoon, 1900, Part I, vol. I, p. 417. For the theme of brother and sister as ancestors of the group, and its relationship with the legend of the flood, one can consult Professor Walk's article, "Das Flutgeschwisterpaar als Ur-und Stammelternpaar der Menschheit. Ein Beitrag zur Mythengeschichte Sud-und Sudostasiens", in Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, Wien, LXXVIII-LXXIX, 1949, p. 60-115. Cf. also P. Lévy, "Doublets onomastiques au Laos et ailleurs dans l'Asie du Sud-Est," in Bulletin de l'Institut indochinois pour l'étude de l'homme, t, V, 1952, p. 147, n.2.

8. Sir J.G. Scott, op.cit., p. 418.

9. Histoire des Miao, Hong-Kong, 1930, p. 246. H.A. Bernatzik, Akha und Meau, Innsbruck, 1947, I, p. 223.

10. Cf. the Kachin myth: C. Gilhodes, "Mythologie et religion des Katchins", in Anthropos III, 1908, p. 682.

11. Le Taoisme, Paris, 1950, p. 108-109.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

12. Ibid., p. 109. See also W. Eberhard, "Lokalkulturen im alten China" Die Lokalkulturen des Sudens und Ostens, Peking, 1942, Reihe 80, 6, and Paul Pelliot in TP XXVIII, 1931, p. 465.

13. C. de Beauvoir Stocks, "Folklore and customs of the Lap-chas of Sikkim," in Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series) vol. XXI, Calcutta, 1925, p. 354.

14. Ibid., p. 355.

15. Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Rome, p. 712.

16. Ibid. See on this subject A.H. Francke, A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Gesar Saga, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1905, p. 17.

17. Myths of Middle India, Madras, 1949, passim, p. 10. "Modern tribal mythology repeats this ancient and highly philosophical conception in two forms. In the first, the body of a person (who can be considered as representing the Mahāpuruṣa) becomes by transformation the world; in the other, the world is established or consolidated by the blood of a human sacrifice".

18. The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo, London, 1896, vol. I, p. 281. The links between this form of thought and that of the "Indian rope-trick" are close. According to Asvaghosa, the Buddha himself took part in this rite (Buddhacarita, Acta Orientalia, XV, p. 40). But the study of the symbolism of the cord, which implies a communication between heaven and earth, oversteps the limits of this article and we are obliged to put it aside. For the theme of the transformation of the sacrificer at the moment of the sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇa, one can consult the admirable article of A. Coomaraswamy, Ātmayajña, H.J.A.S., 1941, p. 358-398.

19. One might equally well ask oneself this question with reference to the article in the J. Bur. R.S., Rangoon, 1916, vol. VI, part III, p. 227. I would like to thank my friend M. Soymié for drawing my attention to this passage which deserves a thorough analysis.

20. A.M. Frenkian, "Puruṣa, Gayōmard, Anthrōpos", in Revue des études indo-européennes, III, I-II, Bucarest, 1943, p. 122. Cf. M. Falk, Il mito psicologico nell' India antica, Rome, 1939, p. 407-413.

21. Frenkian, op. cit., p. 122 where the author quotes R. Reitzenstein and H.H. Schaeder, Studien zum antiken Synkretismus, Aus Iran und Griechenland (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, hrbgn. von Fritz Saxl, VII), 1926, p. 225.

22. Barabuḍur, avant-propos, p. * 116.

23. See, for example, the "Gond" myth in V. Elwin, Myths of Middle India, p. 39.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

24. I am by no means arguing that this is the only possible interpretation of the rite. But it is worth emphasizing one aspect of this very complex rite which has been neglected up till now.

25. Tribal Art of Middle India, Oxford, 1951, p. 179.

26. Paul Lévy points out that these forks are horns as well as widespread legs, ambiguity being the rule in such matters.

It is not always a forked sacrificial stake which is used. Sometimes the victim is strangled; his neck is inserted into a split bamboo or into the split branch of a tree (J. Campbell, Wild tribes of Khondistan, London, 1864, p. 57, 182; S.C. Macpherson, Memorials of Service in India, London, 1865, p. 127). Sometimes the victim is bound to the proboscis of a wooden elephant (J. Campbell, op. cit., p. 126). But Campbell says that this was a representation of the goddess Earth. Sometimes the goddess took the form of a peacock and the stake bore her image (Ibid., p. 51, 126, 54). In all these cases, the earth is feminine. As these books are not available to me at present, I quote them from Sir J.G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, Part V, Spirits of the Corn and Wild, London, 1914, vol. I, p. 247-248.

27. The Angami Nagas, London, 1921, p. 231-232.

28. "Carved Monoliths at Dimapur and an Angami Naga Ceremony" in Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1922, p. 55-70. By the same author "The Meaning and Method of the Erection of Monoliths by the Naga Tribes" J.R.A.I., 1922, p. 242-249.

29. The phrase in brackets is added by myself.

30. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1922, p. 58, See p. 56, fig. I, 2; p, 59, fig 4 (i); facing p. 70, pl. I, fig. I, 2, 3, pl. II, fig. 3,4, pl. III, fig 2, pl. IV fig. I, 2. The earth has not only one sex; the ways by which it can be impregnated are, so to speak, as numerous as the arms of Viśvakarman.

31. On the subject of the symbolism of the forked stake, one will find some interesting suggestions in Paul Lévy's study, "Le sacrifice du buffle et la prédiction du temps à Vientiane", in Bull. de l' institut indochinois pour l'Étude de l'Homme, t. VI, 1944, p. 302-331, particularly p. 322 and following, where the author speaks of "the consubstantiality more or less felt nowadays and which previously must have been strong, which links man to his victim ... It is after having imitated the buffalo, after having been like buffaloes themselves that the Moï sacrificers put to death their congener the buffalo, the substance of which they are going to be able to reincorporate on the best terms, once it will have thus been further identified with their own". The author adds, "There is even in the attitude of the female dancers with their arms raised, the 'padil yaya' of the Katu Moi, more than a gesture of

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

pain and of propitiation, there is also, it seems, a sketchy reminder of the buffalo with its large horns, a sketch-plan which is again present in the forks of the sacrificial masts, quite apart from everything which raised arms, horns and forks comprise in the way of sexual symbolism". E. Thurston and K. Rangachari, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, vol. III, p. 383, tell us that at the moment of the sacrifice of the buffalo (substitute for the meriah) in 1894 some men had attached buffalo horns to their heads with pieces of material.

The buffalo is clearly not the only horned animal in Chinese and Indo-Chinese legendary mythology. Let us recall R.A. Stein's analysis, "A propos des Sculptures de boeufs en métal", where he writes: "It may at first seem that its peculiarity of being a metallic representation of an animal and its reputation for longe-vity (a support for stèles) are characteristics which suffice to explain the stabilising function of the tortoise of Cô-loa. But the analogies with the theme of metallic bulls go further. The Tchong-houa kou-kin-tchou explains wherein lies the divinatory power of the tortoise and points out that "two bones rise out of its forehead which resemble horns". The tortoise is horned; it can also be assimilated to a bull ... Indeed the tortoise is aquatic, just as it is terrestrial" (B.E.F.E.-O., XLII, 1942, p. 138)

The symbolism of the fork does not belong to S.E. Asia alone. Cf. the ceremony commented on by R.A. Stein, Leao-tche, in TP, XXXV, 1939, p. 69-70.

32. Tucci seems to share the opinion of Mus. He writes in effect, "We are faced with cosmogonic legends, probably connected with ancient vegetation rituals in the course of which the victim offered to the gods was hacked to pieces". (Tibetan Painted Scrolls, p. 712). Clearly one might wonder if it was not the contact, in geographical India, between a semi-nomadic people arrived from the North-West and ignorant of rice cultivation, and a pre-Aryan population practising the cultivation of rice, which caused the appearance in the literature of the former of an essential belief of the latter. But two factors throw doubt on this hypothesis, (i) What we call the myth of Prajāpati is not tied to one single plant; (ii) Although everyone agrees that the cultivation of rice is certainly very old in India, archaeologists are not yet able to provide the material proof that at such and such a date, in such and such an exact spot, a certain people was practising the cultivation of rice. The historical, chronological problem remains unsolved. Nevertheless it may be in order to make a sociological observation. The masterly analysis by Mus of the Buddhism of Aśoka (Barabuḍur, ch. 9 bis) is well known. Aśoka needed a neutral religion, or rather a religion which would suit all the non-Aryan as well as the Aryan elements in the population. Prajāpati is the plants (Śat. br., II, 2, 4,5; S.B.E. XII, p. 323; Śat. br., VII, 4, 2, 12; S.B.E. XLI, p. 380). He is also the sacrificial animals (Śat. br., VI, 2, I, I- : S.B.E. XLI, p. 161-; Śat. br., VII, 1, 2, I- ss. S.B.E. XLIII, p. 299- ss.) One can see that such a myth was equally suited to hunters and to

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

farmers -- and this helps to explain its popularity with people of different cultures. On the name Prajāpati, see S.B.E. XLIII, p. xv-ss.

33. Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe, London, 1932, p. 79-81, 149-154; Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia, London, 1939, p. 135-141, 147-151.

34. "Feasting and Meat Division among the Zahau Chins of Burma," J.R.A.I., London, 1937, vol. 67, p. 15-32; The Economics of the Central Chin Tribes, Bombay.

35. The festivals of which we are speaking are often bound up with the rites of initiation. Prajāpati, as Hocart has observed, is not only Indian. As far as America is concerned, G. Davy writes about the Kwakiutl and the Tlinkit and Haida collections, "The hero of the miraculous hunting or fishing expedition destined to save the starving tribe proceeds, indeed, when he returns with the prestige of an initiate and a great provider of food, to distributions of food in the course of which it is precisely the quality of the portions distributed which fixes the social rank of each of those who take part in this, 'hierarchised distribution" (Des Clans aux Empires, Paris, 1923, p. 124).

36. Barabuḍur, introduction, p. * 284.

37. References in : Sylvain Lévi, La Doctrine du Sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas, Paris, 1898, p. 20-21.

38. Śat. br., III, 8,3,1; S.B.E. XXVI, p. 199: Śat. br., 1,2,3,6-9: S.B.E. XII, p. 50-51.

39. See, for example, K.P. Chattopadhyay, Dharma Worship, J.R.A.S.B., Letters, VIII, 1942, p. 134.

40. Śat. br., III, 8, 4, 1: S.B.E. XXVI, p. 210; Śat. br., VI, 2,1, 18: S.B.E. XLI, p. 166; Śat. br., VII, 5, 2, 6: S.B.E. XLI, p. 402.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

A note on Tibetan Megaliths

The starting point for this investigation was provided by a note from the article by Professor Ch. von Fürer HAIMENDORF The Problem of Megalithic Cultures of Middle India [1], in which the author tells us that it is to Svestoslav Roerich that he owes the following information: "Menhirs, megalithic alignments, and stones arranged in circles have been discovered by ... George N. Roerich in Inner Tibet; numerous menhirs are almost buried in the sand, and the local population knows nothing about the meaning of these megalithic monuments nor about the men who built them." Professor Haimendorf also refers to plate V of an article by G.N. ROERICH, The Epic of King Kesar of Ling [2]. These discoveries had been described by G.N. ROERICH in his book, Trails to Inmost Asia [3], and in an article, "The Animal Style among the Nomad Tribes of Tibet" [4], in which we can read as follows: "this kind of monument is to be found in three distinct forms: 1. Menhirs; 2. Cromlechs; 3. Alignments. The sanctuaries of the primitive religions of Tibet are not very well known. Most of these places that have been discovered are in the form of stone altars or lha-t'o [5], which consist of two large stones with a stone slab placed across them horizontally. These stone altars are often found grouped together on the tops of mountains and on the tops of hills ... ." Professor Roerich's expedition was lucky enough to discover several megalithic monuments to the south of the Great Lakes. These were the first megalithic monuments to be discovered north of the Himālayas. In a place called Do-ring, situated some 48 kilometres to the south of the salt lake of Pang-gong tsho-cha, the expedition found important alignments consisting of eighteen parallel east-west rows (fig. 4,5). At the extreme west of the alignment, there was a cromlech or circle of stones consisting of two concentric circles of menhirs or stone slabs. Within the cromlech were situated two menhirs with a rough stone table (lha-t'o) or altar in front of them. The central menhir was some 2.5 metres high, and bore traces of libations of butter, and I learnt from a local chief that the stone was the abode of a lha or divine protector of the road and of travellers. The place is called Do-ring after the menhir. The local headman thought the alignments were natural formations." Also, in the Urusvati Journal, No. 1 [6], Roerich writes: "The Tibetan megaliths ought to be studied and classified. Many of these pre-Buddhist sites now pass for lama sanctuaries: it is said that the menhirs are used as dwelling places for different divinities of the lama pantheon".

Let us note first of all that Roerich was not the first to report the existence of megaliths within the Tibetan borders. In 1908, J. Bacot, in a paper read to "La Société d'Anthropologie" in Paris [7], had pointed out that a megalithic monument exists in the eastern parts of the country. With regard to the Western areas, A.H. FRANCKE remarked, in his History of Western Tibet [8]: "there is an ancient custom which is nowadays observed solely at Manchat, and which probably dates from the time of the Mundari era. It consists of erecting a stone beside the road to commemorate a dead person. One can see stones like this near each village in Manchat. Those that have been set up more recently have

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

a spot in the centre covered with oil. Many of these stones are practically devoid of ornamentation, but some of them bear a carving in the centre representing a person, and still others have a figure, representing the dead person, carved in relief on the rock. The last stage in the development of these commemorative stones is found in the village temples. There great slabs of stone can be seen, and on them are carved more than six figures in a row". The same author adds the following observation which is likely to awaken the interest of the ethnologist: "After enquiries, the local inhabitants told me that, at irregular intervals, all the rich families that had just lost one of their members were obliged to club together to hold a great feast for the entire village. To commemorate the feast, a stone slab bearing the portraits (never flattering ones) of the dead person is placed in the centre of the village". The oldest of these stones apparently depicted "the original dress" of the Lahoulis, that is, "a small skirt hanging from the waist to the knees, and the chiefs wore feather head-dresses similar to those of the North American Indians". These garments are depicted on "very old commemorative slabs at Triloknath". This author adds elsewhere that the "village temples are little huts with sloping gable roofs with shingles, and have a ram's head, symbol of creative power, carved on the upper beam of the roof. These huts still represent the primitive dwellings of the Lahoulis" [9].

In his book, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, FRANCKE describes a place for dancing on the slopes above Kalagtrung [10]. This plateau, it seems, was formerly used for the Shar-rgan festival when a human sacrifice was offered to Tārā, Śiva's wife. Behind the pit in which the victim's body was thrown, Francke noticed "several terraces which the people used to sit on at the time of these sacrifices". Another place, called Dralang, is connected with the same festival: "Dancing is held there, and there is a stake in the middle. Lha-t'os, like those found at the new place where the Shar-rgan is celebrated, and two vertical stones, are arranged on both sides of this site; one of them shows traces of an inscription which seems to read Om-a-hum. The other is probably a kind of rough linga like those of Manchat. Not far from here, holes and pits are found, and in these too children used to be sacrificed".

Roerich has provided other descriptions of megaliths which, in my opinion, are well worth quoting in extenso as there has not to my knowledge been any previous attempt at a general analysis of Tibetan megaliths. "Right at the exit from the village of Saga", he tells us, "there stands a large menhir of grey granite. The stone is surrounded by numerous little columns of tiny stones of white quartz. The top of the slab bore tracess of frequent libations of butter. According to the official, this stone has stood there since time immemorial and is dedicated to the goddess, Pal-den Lhamo, the divine protectress of a district that is so rich in powerful gods that it has been given the name, Saga, meaning 'happy land'. This local cult of Pal-den Lhamo is enforced by the government; all travellers must stop and offer libations to the stone slab [11]. The efforts made by the expedition to loosen some of the stones was, at a certain moment, interrupted by nomads for religious reasons [12]. Another interesting point is that Professor Roerich discovered "several tombs which to all appearance belong to the Neolithic

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

age; they were enclosed by two stones forming a square. Every tomb built from East to West had a large round stone at the eastern end; the body was evidently buried with the head on this side. These tombs must belong to the same period as the megalithic monuments studied by the expedition" [13]. That is the opinion of the author. But in the article quoted above, he wrote: "the discovery of bronze objects around the megalithic monuments seems to indicate that it might be possible to date them back to the early bronze age" [14]. He wisely concludes that the problem of establishing the date will only be resolved by means of a thorough investigation and classification of the finds, but elsewhere he declares flatly: "the primitive Bon doctrine is still represented by wandering exorcists who never form part of established fraternities [15]. The places where they worship ... are marked by rough stone altars or stones assembled in the form of menhirs or cromlechs"[16]. He repeats what we have already pointed out on the subject of stones found on the tops of mountains, but adds that these kinds of altars are "sometimes in concealed grottoes among the rocks, or sunk deep in the heart of high cliffs" [17]. These stones "undoubtedly belong to the pre-Buddhist period in Tibetan history, when the primitive Bon-po was the recognised religion of the country". The fact that Bon-po and megaliths might have existed simultaneously does not prove beyond doubt that the megaliths were the instruments of Bon-po worship. Also, Roerich tells us that the megaliths found "along the pilgrim route towards Mount Kalaisa are the holy places of nature worship". The correspondance implied, that is Bon-po - nature worship, is scarcely admissible in the light of more recent research[18].

Another book provides us with the following details on the subject of the ruins found on the Kanzam-la, the pass leading from the Kulu region towards Tibet [19]. The pass is "completely covered with stones, of varying sizes, and in a vertical position; many of them have been broken by the ice. Formations like these are not rare in Tibet", add these authors, "and the fact that they are found on the passes seems to indicate that they are not tomb stones. Instead, they are probably the original forms of the lha-t'os and of the stone cairns which today are found piled up near the lha-t'o when crossing a pass; in actual fact, they are ritual monuments rather than commemorative stones". This hypothesis is interesting since cairns can be found elsewhere in Asia, set up in places reputed to be dangerous. R.A. Stein has assembled a few examples of these and has commented on them in his work on the Lin-yi [20].

Professor Tucci writes that he has seen traces of megaliths "at the top of a mountain above the path going from Doptra to Saskya". He has taken photographs of megalithic monuments at Doptra. Elsewhere, at Po, "in the state of Bashar on the edge of Tibet", a similar monument is the centre of a great festival which is celebrated each year. "The ritual, known to us through the songs sung during this festival (dGra-lha glu), shows that the surface of the circles, the perimeter of which is marked by stones and the centre by a monolith, is the symbol of the cosmos, and that the ceremony is thought to ensure that the seasons will pursue their normal course.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

'At the top of the Eastern Mountain, the King of Mountains,
There are the sun, the moon and the stars;
May the sun not be hidden by a storm,
May the moon not be seized by an eclipse,
May the stars not vanish away'[21].

Tucci himself adds: "there is very little doubt that the lha-t'os normally seen on passes, and to which travellers attach banners, are related to this primitive cult of the local deity now transformed into the Buddhist sa-bdag. The prayer, which is still recited after placing a stone on the lha-t'o when one has crossed a pass, refers to a lha: lha so-so lha rgyal-lo" [22].

One realises immediately that there is a considerable difference between the ceremony with its cosmic import, as described by Tucci, and the simple piling up of stones at Lahoul, in honour of the dead, as described by Francke. The interpretation Roerich gives to the megalithic alignments of Tibet strikes me as quite unconvincing when he compares them with similar alignments at Carnac [23], even though I can think of no other interpretations to suggest. Roerich observed that megaliths are found not only in high places, but also in grottoes, and that seems to me to be an important point. For one often has the impression, when reading the meagre materials at our disposal, that the megaliths are only found in high places. Francke's note, which suggests that there exists among the Lahoulis something like the Festivals of Merit of the Nagas, Chins, etc., obviously does not enable one to deduce from this by extrapolation that similar rituals had, at some time or another, existed among the Lahoulis. In the same way, the possible connections between places for dancing, places for sacrifice, places where megaliths have been erected, which together form a whole at the site where Francke noted terraces, are by no means sufficient to establish genuine cultural links with other groups in the East or West. In any case, bearing in mind the diversity of the material, the chance nature of the finds, and the varying interpretations that have already been given to them, it would be foolhardy to draw general conclusions about the significance of Tibetan megaliths. However, on the strength of the note by Professor Haimendorf, quoted at the beginning of this article, H.G. Quaritch Wales has gone so far as to suggest that the Tibetan facts "may provide a clue as to the route taken "between the Mediterranean region and South East Asia by the bearers of the megalithic cultures [24]. Be that as it may - and it would be easy to raise objections from the geographical or typological point of view - it is possible to suggest that the general significance of the Tibetan megaliths could not be very different from that of other megalithic cultures in South East Asia. The moment has certainly come for an attempt to be made to establish links between these primitive cultures and their more "advanced" neighbours in the north and west [25]. W. Eberhard wondered whether not only the stone pillars of the tsou today representing both the god of the earth and the phallus, but also the stone tablets erected for the dead in China since the time of the later Han, might be related to these megalithic cultures [26]. A recent study by Ishida Eiichiro contributes further interesting observations in this field [27]. The absence of a comparative study of the material from China,

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

India and South East Asia is obviously the penalty that has to be paid in consequence of the water-tight divisions required by university syllabuses.

Jäschke's dictionary gives the following as a definition of rdo riṅ: "a stone pillar, obelisk, as a land-mark, monument, or an ornament of buildings" [28]. Professor Tucci for his part states that the megalithic monuments of Tibet are generally called rdo riṅ[29]. He has just completed a study of the rdo riṅ found near the tombs of Tibetan kings who had been converted to Buddhism. This is what he writes on the subject of the symbolism of these pillars: "From the moment it is erected in a place, the pillar testifies to the permanent possession of the ground on which it is planted; the king becomes identified with the Law and then with a visible symbol of it, i.e. the pillar: a new cosmos is created, the cosmos of the Law whose magic centre is the very same pillar which symbolises the king himself. In this way, the forces of chaos which move under the earth, the world of the sa-bdag and the klu, the waters which represent primeval chaos and the devil, are subjugated; a new order is established and the way to heaven is opened; as a matter of fact, the pillar is at the same time the path which leads to heaven, it is the axis mundi which pierces (through) the levels of existence; it is also the royal counterpart of the work undertaken by Padmasambhava and his Indian companions when they were summoned to Tibet to subdue the local demons that had been causing diseases, epidemics and troubles of all kinds: Padmasambhava transformed them into Guardians of the Law and Custodians of the temples" [30]. As Tucci indicates, "these are general ideas that we find all over the Asian world". In his research on the mythology attached to the name of the Chinese general Ma Yuan (who, according to the Heou Han Chou, died in 49 A.D. in the course of a campaign against the Man of Hou-nan), Kaltenmark has encountered beliefs which are very close to those formulated above by Tucci [31].

The fact that the same expression rdo riṅ is used in a general sense to describe the megalithic monuments of Tibet, and, more specifically, the pillars of certain Tibetan kings, forces us to ask ourselves whether there might not be some points in common between the beliefs of the men who erected the megaliths of Tibet and South East Asia, and the theory of the royal rdo-riṅ described by Tucci. In 1934 [32], R. Heine-Geldern, the specialist in these megalithic cultures, gave an outline of his conclusions, and in 1945 came back to the question without greatly modifying his thesis, which runs as follows: "The megaliths, apart from some not very important exceptions, are related to some specific ideas concerning the life after death ... the majority of them are set up in the course of rituals intended to protect souls from the dangers which might threaten them in the subterranean world or on the road leading to it; and in order to ensure eternal life, whether to the individuals who erect these megaliths as their own monuments in their lifetime or to those in whose honour they were erected after their death ... at the same time, the megaliths are intended to serve as a link between the dead and the living, and to help the latter partake of the wisdom of the dead ... they are thought to perpetuate the magic qualities of the individuals who had erected them or in whose honour they had been erected, and are thus considered to be propitious to the fertility of men, animals, and crops, and pledges of the prosperity of the generations to come" [33].

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

An analysis undertaken by Paul Mus in a totally different field may help us to gain a better understanding of the significance of these megaliths. "In these rituals imbued with magic", writes Mus with regard to the theory surrounding the construction of the fire altars of the Brāhmaṇa, "there is no question of introducing oneself directly into the supernatural world (which would be a genuinely religious movement) without giving further thought to our own: one starts out from the latter, but one never loses contact with it".[34] And further on: "In short, since the objective is to launch oneself from one milieu to another, the magic axiom faithfully preserved by the Brāhmaṇa, is that one will only reach the highest point if one knows how to set up for oneself at a lower level the appropriate props ... What one needs is an instrument which establishes a link between the real and the supernatural; in it, they will come together and each will influence the other; neither one nor the other will be found there in a pure state." It seems to me that Mus' analysis, stripped of its philosophical framework (indispensable to the study of the texts), could very well be applied to our megaliths. For these latter are essentially instruments of worship. They project the dead person into the life beyond the grave; they are his trace in the every-day landscape, and so keep his presence alive among his descendants. They are at the same time something more and something less than representations of dead persons. In another perspective, like the steles of Annam [35], they summarise the achievements of the dead while they lived.

I believe that it is time to start considering the beliefs of the megalith builders within the framework of a field which has been opened up recently in the study of the history of religions- I refer to the theory of the cosmic axis, analysed with great lucidity by Paul Mus and for the study of which the works of M. Eliade provide the French reader with considerable material. Our megaliths admittedly do not fit into the "architectonic symbolism of the centre" as formulated by Eliade in his book Le Mythe de l'Eternel Retour [36]. But Mus has shown that "India has conceived the cosmic axis under four main forms: the mountain, the pillar, the tree and the giant, four terms practically interchangeable in folk-lore as in the symbolic composition of monuments" [37]. So we should not limit ourselves to examining this theory on the sole basis of documents concerning holy mountains, temples, holy towns or royal residences. It has relevence to much simpler objects; and the mountain, the pillar and the tree are interchangeable not only in the folk-lore of India [38].

It is the fertility value of the megaliths which seems to be the principal concern of the peoples that put them up. By this, I do not mean simply that all megaliths should be considered as phallic symbols. The populations in question do not all have complex cosmological systems, but for them megaliths are linked with the periodic return of fertility to the world. In monsoon Asia, this fertility is, to some extent, considered everywhere, and with sound reason, as the result of the interaction between the rain and the earth, that is to say, of a harmonious relationship between the sky, the earth, and the subterranean world, between the living and the dead, between the celestial and earthy waters. In the last analysis, many religions envisage the periodic recreation of spring in terms of the human sexual act.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Obviously, the concept of fertility is still present in more advanced systems, where we are no longer confronted with a megalith, but with a pillar. Tucci describes the ceremony consecrating (rab gnas) the royal rdo riṅ, by saying that "the population gathered together because the effectiveness of the magic ritual could thus extend to them, and they, for their part, would be able to transmit its power to the earth. In this way, the land was ensured happiness (bde skyid). The pillar stood at the centre of the consecrated area which was thus transformed, ideally and magically, into the centre of the universe" [39]. The parallel with Kaltenmark's conclusions [40] is striking: "If it (the column) ensures the stability of the world, it is because it establishes a centre, and because space cannot be conceived of except in relation to a centre. The column instals organised space around itself. On the other hand, the column constitutes a path that is open to the powers of good, and closed to anarchic forces: it creates a harmonious distribution of the universe". And he quotes the Heou Han Chou with approval: "when the Majestic Pinnacle (Auguste Faîte) is not raised, there are scourges, caused by snakes and dragons". "Scholars may have used such literary images", adds Kaltenmark, "yet their real significance is nonetheless perfectly clear: it derives from the idea of a column erected to prevent snakes and dragons from doing harm" [41].

For the most part, the megaliths do not form part of historical cultures: one cannot date them with precision. Links between megalithic cultures and historical cultures can only be established with difficulty, and considerable prudence is necessary. The stones are often studied solely from a typological perspective; and by considering them in the light of rituals known through modern ethnography (in the absence of textual explanations), one can obviously only formulate working hypotheses. By fitting the study of Tibetan megaliths into the general framework of the study of megalithic cultures in Asia, and by centering our research around work on the cosmic axis, I am not maintaining that the later instruments of worship (pillars, stèles) necessarily or directly derive from megalithic antecedents. But I am trying to discover what there is in common between so-called primitive beliefs and the beliefs manifest in the great historical religions. Within the limits of the material available, the sets of ideas grouped around the megalith, as well as round the stèle, convey to us one constant preoccupation: the notion of a cosmic axis. It is this idea which provides a link between two different moments in the magico-religious thought of the populations studied. Moreover, the achievements stressed by the megaliths (success in hunting, success in love) and on the stèles (administrative success, literary success), have perhaps projective value similar to that of the ritual act at the level of the Brāhmana, or the moral action of the Buddhist. At different levels of belief, the life beyond the grave is viewed in like manner in terms of certain actions accomplished in earthly society; it is with his successes in the material world that the person of the dead man is composed.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

NOTES

1. Man in India, vol. XXV, June 1945, p. 86.

2. JRASB, vol. VIII, Calcutta, 1942, p. 277-312.

3. Yale University Press, 1931. Translated into French by DE VAUX PHALIPAU, Sur les pistes de l'Asie centrale, Paris, 1933. The quotations are taken from the French edition.

4. Scythika, III, Seminarium Kondakovianum, Prague, 1930, p. 33.

5. I preserve the spelling of proper names as given by the authors quoted; but I adopt the transcription lha-t'o for all variants of this word.

6. Journal of Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute of Roerich Museum, New York, 1931.

7. Meeting on the 4th June 1908. See also J. BACOT, Dans les marches tibétaines, Paris, 1909, p. 191.

8. London, no date, p. 187 ff.

9. According to Francke, who does not give his sources, the primitive religion of the Lahoulis probably consisted in the worship of the phallus and in the cult of the snake. Op. cit., p. 188.

10. Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Part I: Personal Narrative, in Archaeological Survey of India, New Imp, Series, vol. 38, Calcutta, 1914, pp. 20 ff.

11. Sur les pistes de l'Asie centrale, p. 246. The text provides no information concerning the "official".

12. Op. cit., p, 243.

13. Sur les pistes de l'Asie centrale, p. 236

14. Scythika, III, p. 35.

15. Sur les pistes de l'Asie centrale, p. 201.

16. According to the author, these itinerants have permanent places of worship.

17. Sur les pistes de l'Asie centrale, p. 201.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

18. For example, H. HOFFMANN: Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetische Bon-Religion, Wiesbaden, 1950. It is true, as R.A. Stein indicates in his review of this book (JA, 1952, I, p. 97-104), that there is at the present time a tendency to class all popular Tibetan religion, if not every non-Buddhist religion in Tibet, under the heading of Bon; but the definition of the Bon religion as "nature worship" gives an idea of this religion that is as imprecise and incomplete as the previous usage of this same formula to define Vedism.

19. G. TUCCI and E. GHERSI, Secrets of Tibet, London, 1935, p. 23, and photo opposite page 22.

20. Le Lin-yi: sa localisation, sa contribution à la formation du Champa et ses liens avec la Chine in Han-Hiue (Bulletin du Centre d'Etudes sinologiques de Pékin, vol.II), fasc. 1-3, Peking, 1947, p. 183-185. This phenomenon is not uniquely Asian: for the almost world-wide distribution of these customs, see the numerous references collected by Sir J. Frazer, The Golden Bough, Part IV: The Scapegoat, London, 1914, pp. 8-30. With regard to modern India, see also S.D. PANT, The Social Economy of the Himalayans, London, 1935, p. 226; J. ABBOTT, The Keys of Power, London, 1932, p. 243, 249; Sir W. GRIGSON, The Maria Gonds of Bastar, Oxford, 1949, p. 283, and cf. V. ELWIN, Funerary Customs in Bastar State, in Man in India, vol. XXV, June 1945, p. 132. With regard to China, see Kaltenmark Le Dompteur des flots, in Han-Hiue, vol. III, fasc. 1-2, Peking, 1948, p. 57. According to J.F. Rock, the na-dsa of the Nakhi corresponds to the obo of the Mongols (BEFEO, 1937, p. 30, note 1). The Rapport préliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie chinoise, 1928-1931, by L. Ligeti, Budapest, 1933, p. 64, provides information about the obos and the cults associated with them in Mongolia. Ligeti refers to A. POZDNEEV, Ocerki byta buddijskikh monastyrei, Saint-Petersburg, 1887, p. 139-146. This should be corrected to read pages 403-411. This latter work contains more detailed information. I hope one day to return to this topic. It is a vast subject and would be well worth comprehensive research.

21. Tibetan painted Scrolls, Rome, 1949, p. 729. Cf. A.H. FRANCKE, Antiquities ... , I, p. 21.

22. Ibid. I do not believe that the sa-bdags are particularly Buddhist, at least not as regards their origins. An important note by R.A. Stein on this topic can be found in his "Trente-trois fiches de divination tibétaines", in HJAS, vol. IV, Dec. 1939, p. 345-352. Certain spirits move around with the people who believe in them: it would be a mistake to try to determine too precisely the altitude at which they live.

23. Scythika, III, p. 33-34.

24. The Making of Greater India, London, 1951, p. 49.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

25. The most important investigations in this field remain those conducted by Paul Mus in his article written in 1934, L'Inde vue de l'Est, and which are based to a great, (perhaps too great) extent on "Le Dieu du Sol dans la Chine antique", the appendix to the great monograph written by E. CHAVANNES: Le T'ai Chan, Paris, 1910.

26. Lokalkulturen im Alten China, vol. II: Die Lokalkulturen des Südens und Ostens, Peking, 1942, Series 54, 6 and 73, 3. See also B. KARLGREN, "Some Fecundity Symbols in Ancient China", in BMFEA, no. 2, Stockholm, 1930, and the notes by H. RYDH, "On symbolism in mortuary ceramics", in BMFEA, no. 1, 1929, and "Seasonal Fertility Rites and the Death Cult in Scandinavia and China"; also E. Erkes, "Some remarks on Karlgren's Fecundity Symbols in Ancient China", ibid.

27. "The Kappa Legend; a comparative ethnological study on the Japanese water-sprit, Kappa, and its habit of trying to lure horses into the water", in Folklore Studies, vol. IX, Tokyo, 1950, p. 1-152.

28. Tibetan-English Dictionary, London, 1940, 1940, p. 287. Note the expression rdo skyed-pa, skya-ba "to carry or drag stones to a place".

29. Tibetan painted Scrolls, p. 729.

30. The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings, Rome, 1950, p. 54. According to Tucci, who quotes the Bka' t'an sde lña (Rgyal-po bka'-t'añ, p. 43), the erection of a rdo-riñ constituted one of the four gates of virtuous acts (dge-spyod) of the king, the three others being the construction of a tomb, a castle and a temple.

31. Le Dompteur des flots, Peking, 1948.

32. Vorgeschichtliche Grundlagen der Kolonialindischen Kunst, in Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Asiens, Vol. 8, Vienna, 1934, p. 22.

33. Prehistoric Research in the Netherlands Indies, New York, 1945, p. 149. See also "Die Megalithen Südostasiens und ihre Bedeutung für die Klāring der Megalithenfrage in Europa und Polynesien", in Anthropos, XXIII, 1928, p. 276-315.

34. "Barabudur. Esquisse d'une histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes", Hanoi, 1935, p. * 53.

35. L. CADIERE, Croyances at pratiques religieuses des Annamites, Hanoi, 1944, p. 142.

36. Paris 1949, p. 30

37. Barabudur, p. 117. With regard to the giant in the person of Prajāpati, see my article in JA, 1752, 3, p. 323-338. Behind the erection of every megalith, there is a human being. The theme of

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

stones that multiphy is found here and there throughout Indochina. Katchin legends mention a rock, Lungli Lung, which "knows everything and gives advice when consulted by the various people who resort to it during their illnesses, enterprises etc". Soon this rock "has too much work and cannot answer all the questions. So the humans decide to break it up; they lift it up into the air and throw it down hard against the ground; the rock breaks and gives birth to a Dumsa (a priest), a Jaiwa, (a bard and arch-priest), a Myithoi, (a clairvoyant, a great soothsayer), a Kumphan, (an ordinary soothsayer); then it gives birth to a multitude of little stones (lungli lungni)and other objects that can foresee the future and which the Katchins use to discover the will of the nats: Jaba lap (a leaf of the bush Jaba), Shaman (a kind of small bamboo), Pase (sticks of bamboo and other objects)". (Anthropos", IV, 1909, p. 127). The theme of the stone that gives birth should be juxtaposed with the theme of the ancestral gourd (for example, BEFEO, XVII, 5, p. 159). Let us recall the analysis by my late teacher, Edouard Mestre: "Among the T'ai and the Khas, they speak of a giant creeper which brought heaven and earth into contact, but at the same time intercepted the light of the sun and kept the world plunged in darkness. Inversely, according to the mythology of the Lakhers and their neighbours, the great darkness, that was originally the result of an over-prolonged eclipse, made the plant-life multiply rapidly and thus caused mankind to be smothered. Thus began a time that was remarkable on account of the animal metamorphoses which brought about the repopulation of the earth by man. In these critical times, there emerged a reversal of roles between stones and plants. Courges, from which the T'ai and the Khas are descended, turned into rocks. Among the Djarais, the King of the water owned a magic stick, a length of creeper that was always green and had come from the last flood; he also had a fruit which was a stone. The next flood is supposed to take place when this fruit, in the process of ripening, passes from the mineral back to the vegetable state". (Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences religieuses, Annuaire, 1940-1941 and 1941-1942, p. 65-66). For the alternation between stone and wood, and for everything connected with the themes of the gourd, the vase, the cave, the world apart, it is well to consult the article by R.A. STEIN, "Les Jardins en miniature d'Extrême-Orient", in BEFEO, t. XLVII, 1942, p. 1-104.

38. Le Chamanisme and Le Traité d' histoire des religions by M. ELIADE provide references. See also the index of La Pensée chinoise by Marcel GRANET, under "pivot". For military usage of the theory of the cosmic axis, see H.G. QUARITCH WALES, Ancient South East Asian Warfare, London, 1952, p. 154; and for its occurrence in music, C. MARCEL-DUBOIS, Les Instruments de musique de l'Inde ancienne, Paris, 1941, p. 135. Cf. also Gudmund Hatt, Asiatic influences in American folklore, Copenhague. 1949, p. 40-63.

39. The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings, p. 35.

40. Le Dompteur des flots, p. 57.

41. Le Dompeur des flots, p. 54.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Juggernaut Reconstructed

The ethnographical documents which describe the worship of Jagannātha in the town of Puri vary in value [1]. Research studies have up till now examined the contribution of the different Indian religions and within these religions the contribution of various sects to a religious cult which is remarkable particularly for its syncretic form. These are historical problems which are for Indianists to elucidate. I am not going to propose any historical solutions. As an ethnologist I would like modestly to draw attention to certain aspects of the cult which might be missed by those whose training demands primarily the study of historical texts and documents. The state of the available documentation rules out any hypothetical reconstruction of the development of the cult. Although I will make reference from time to time to texts which are historical insofar as we attribute to them more or less precise dates, my analysis will try to clarify the structure of the rites in question rather than to determine temporal sequences.

Thanks to historians we know that the region of Puri has at various periods been in contact with the countries of South East Asia. G. Coedès writes that 'the use of the term Ussa (Odra = Orissa) for Pegu, and of Çrîkshetra (= Puri) as the old name for Prome in Burma indicates certainly a relationship between these countries and Orissa' [2]. R.C. Majumdar has tried to establish that there was a relationship between the Çailendras of Java and Sumatra and the Çailas of Orissa [3]. Without dwelling on this relationship, let us note with Coedès the presence in Lower Burma during the period prior to the sixth century of 'Indian colonies originating from Orissa. Among these the principle one was Suddhamavati (or pura), that is to say, Thaton, at the mouth of the Sittang, where, according to a local legend, Buddhaghoṣa, the celebrated father of the Singalese church in the fifth century, was born and died' [4]. Our knowledge of the syncretic cults of South East Asia has been increased during the last few years by the fruitful researches of J. Przyluski, Paul Mus, and Paul Lévy [5]. It is therefore quite interesting to go back to the sources, that is to one of the centres from which Indian culture spread in the East. On the way we will notice that the fusion of different elements in one religion takes place in India itself in a way fairly similar to what happened in those regions influenced in their turn by the great religions of Indian origin. The Brahmans and the Buddhists who crossed the seas in order to implant if not impose their religions abroad, doubtless were flexible in their relations with non-believers, a flexibility acquired at home before they embarked for the colonies [6].

Right at the beginning of this paper we must acquaint the reader with the legend of the god Jagannātha. The version we have chosen was collected by Hunter and it represents the oral tradition as it was in circulation about the year 1870. Without going directly to the texts, which might not be available to him, the reader may check the difference

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

between the oral and the written tradition by consulting R.L. Mitra's work which made use of the mahātmyas and the purāṇas. If we have chosen as basic text the popular rather than the literary tradition, it is because we believe the first is more important for an ethnographical enquiry. In a collective manifestation of religious fervour it is important for us to find out first of all what this manifestation represents in the eyes of the mass of people who take part in it. The interpretation supplied by specialists (which the editors of the texts most certainly are) are of undoubted interest to the historian of religions. But if the participation of the masses in a rite is biased, that of the possessors of particular knowledge, who also take part in the rite, is even more so. By basing oneself solely on the commentaries of the latter, one risks getting a distorted view of the whole. On the other hand we could have given a summary of the legend. But that would have necessitated cutting out some of the details which in themselves merit attention. Note that the English translation of this legend has a literary quality which distorts its interpretation. Words such as "heaven" and expressions like "the golden age" have a Western ring to them which one should bear in mind while reading the account.

"For a long time in the golden age, men had been seeking for the god Viṣṇu throughout the earth. So the good king Indradyumna sent out Brahmans from his realm of Malva to the East and to the West, and to the North and to the South. And those who went to the West, and to the North, and to the South returned, but he who went to the East returned not. For he who had gone to the East had journeyed through the great jungle till he came to the country of the Savars, the old people of Orissa, and there he dwelt in the house of Bāsu, a fowler of the wilderness, and Bāsu, seeing the man to be a Brahman, had forced him by threats to marry his daughter, and thus to bring honour to his tribe. This the Brahman did, and abode in the villages of the ancient people.

"Now Bāsu was a servant of Jagannātha the lord of the world, and daily he went into the jungle to offer fruits and flowers in secret to his god. But one morning, moved by the prayers of his daughter, he took the Brahman with him, binding his eyes on the way, so that he might behold the lord Jagannātha in his holy place, and yet that he should not know the way thither. Then the Brahman, having received from his wife a bag of mustard seed, dropped the seeds as he went blindfold through the forest till he reached the shrine, and the old man unbound his eyes. There he beheld lord Jagannātha in the form of a blue stone image, at the foot of the undying fig tree. Presently the old man left him and went to gather the daily offering of flowers. Then the Brahman prayed to the lord of the World, and, as he poured out his heart, a crow that sat rocking herself on a branch above fell down before the god, and suddenly taking a glorious form, soared into the heaven of Viṣṇu. The Brahman, seeing how easy the path to eternal bliss appeared to be from this holy spot, climbed into the tree, and would have thrown himself down, but a voice from heaven cried, "Hold, Brahman! First carry to thy king the good news that thou hast found the lord of the world".

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

"At the same moment the fowler came back with his newly gathered fruits and flowers, and spread them out before the image. But, alas, the god came not as was his habit to partake of the offering. Only a voice was heard saying, 'Oh, faithful servant, I am wearied of thy jungle flowers and fruits, and crave for cooked rice and sweetmeats. No longer shalt thou see me in the form of thy Blue God. Hereafter I shall be known as Jagannātha the lord of the world'. Then the fowler sorrowfully led the Brahman back to his house, but the Blue God appeared no more to that poor man of the ancient people.

"For a long time the fowler kept the Brahman captive in the wilderness, but at last, moved by the tears of his daughter, he allowed him to depart to tell that the Lord of the World had been found. When the King heard the good news he rejoiced, and set out with his army of I,300,000 footmen, and a vast company of wood-cutters to hew a road through the great jungle. So they journeyed 800 miles, till they reached the Blue Mountain. Then the King's heart swelled within him, and he cried, 'Who is like unto me whom the Lord of the World has chosen to build his temple and to teach men in this age of darkness to call on his name?' But the lord Jagannātha was wroth at the King's pride and a voice was heard from heaven saying, O King, thou shalt indeed build my temple, but me thou shalt not behold. When it is finished then thou shalt seek anew for thy god'. At that same moment the Blue Image vanished from off the earth.

"So the king built the temple but saw not the god, and when the temple was finished, he found no man on earth holy enough to consecrate it. Therefore king Indradyumna went to heaven to beg Brahmā to come down and consecrate the temple. But Brahmā had just begun his devotions and could not be disturbed. Now the devotions of Brahmā last for nine ages of mortal men, and while Indradyumna waited in heaven, many other kings had reigned on earth. The city that he had build around the temple had crumbled into ruins, and the lofty fane itself was buried under the drifting sand of the sea. One day, as the king of the place was riding along the beach, his horse stumbled against the pinnacle of the forgotten shrine. Then his servants, searching to find the cause, dug away the sand, and there was the temple of lord Jagannātha fair and fresh as at the time of its building.

"So when Brahmā's devotions were over and he came down with Indradyumna to consecrate the temple, the king of the place claimed it as the work of his own hands. Therefore Brahmā commanded that the witnesses should be heard, and first he called upon the crow. But the crow was busy with her devotions and cried, 'Who art thou that callest me?' 'It is I, Brahmā, the master of the Vedas, and dost thou, poor carrion-bird, dare to despise my summons?' Then said the ancient crow, 'Which Brahmā art thou? I have seen a thousand Brahmās live and die. There was he with a thousand faces, whose existence was as a period of 5 days to me. Thou wast born but yesterday from the body of Viṣṇu, and yet commandest thou me! 'Then Brahmā entreated the crow, and she finally declared that it was Indradyumna who had built the temple.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

"But for all this, King Indradyumna found not the God. So with austerities and penance he ceased not to call upon Jagannātha till the Lord of the World appeared to him in a vision, and showed him his image as a block of timber half thrown up from the ocean upon the sand. Then the King with his army and 5000 male elephants, tried to drag the block with crimson cords to the temple, but he could not, until, chidden for his presumption by lord Jagannātha in a vision, he summoned Bāsu the fowler to his aid.

"Thereafter the king gathered together all the carpenters in his country, and gave them lands and villages as the price for fashioning the block into an image of lord Jagannātha. But when they put their chisels on the wood, the iron lost its edge, and when they struck them with their mallets, the mallets missed and crushed their hands; till at last the lord Viṣṇu came down in the form of an aged carpenter, and by signs and wonders declared his power unto the King. Him the King shut up alone in the temple with the block, and swore that no man should enter for 2I days, sealing the doors with his own seal. But the queen longed to see the face of the God, that he might redeem her life from barrenness. So she persuaded her husband, and he, opening the door before the end of the promised time, found the three images of Jagannātha his brother and sister, fashioned from the waist upwards. But Jagannātha and his brother had only stumps for arms, while his sister had none at all, and even so they remain to this day. Then the King prayed to the God, and being asked to choose a blessing, begged that offerings should never cease in all time to come before the images and that the temple should ever remain open from daybreak until midnight for the salvation of mankind.

"So it shall be', said the vision, "But they are matters which concern me. Ask for thyself". "I ask, then" said the king, "that I may be the last of my race, that none who come after me may say, I built this temple, I taught men to call on the name of Jagannātha ! Thus it fell out that the good king Indradyumna was the last of his line" [7].

Puri is a celebrated place of pilgrimage. Auguste Barth has written some pages on the subject of the pilgrimages in Medieval India which are still worth re-reading. One will even find in them some lines devoted to the cult of Jagannātha [8]. We do not intend to examine in depth the sacred geography of India throughout its history. Let us note, nevertheless, that the organisation of the holy places does not date from modern times and let us emphasize with Hunter that the town of Puri is a part of the cosmo-geographical landscape which surrounds it. For Orissa is divided into four great regions of pilgrimage. "From the moment the pilgrim passes the Baitarani River, on the high road forty miles north-east of Cattack, he treads", says Hunter, "on holy ground. Behind him lies the secular world, with its cares for the things of this life; before him is the promised land which he has been taught to regard as a place of preparation for heaven. On the southern side of the river, rises shrine after shrine to Śiva, the All-Destroyer. On its very bank he beholds the house of Yama, the King of the Dead, and, as he crosses over, the priest whispers into his ear the last text which is breathed

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

over the dying Hindu at the moment the spirit takes its flight: "In the dread gloom of Yama's halls is the tepid Baitarani River". On leaving the stream, he enters Jajpur, literally the city of sacrifice, the headquarters of the region of pilgrimage, sacred to Parvatī (Vijaya or Parvatī Kṣetra), the wife of the All-Destroyer. To the south-east is the region of pilgrimage sacred to the sun, now scarcely visited, with its matchless ruins looking down in desolate beauty across the Bay of Bengal. To the south-west is the region of pilgrimage dedicated to Śiva (Hara Kṣetra), with its city of temples, which once clustered, according to native tradition, to the number of seven thousand, around the sacred lake. Beyond this, nearly due south, is the region of pilgrimage beloved of Viṣṇu, known to every hamlet throughout India, and to every civilised nation on earth, as the abode of Jagannātha the Lord of the World (Viṣṇu or Puruṣottama Kṣetra)" [9].

We should emphasize the fact that most of the pilgrims who come to Puri form part of an organised tour and "nothing", writes O'Malley, "has stimulated pilgrimage so much as the organised system of pilgrim guides. The Pandas and Pariharis of the temple", he says, "have divided among themselves the whole of India, each having their allotted circle, in which they claim to possess a monopoly of pilgrims. Two or three months before the beginning of the principal festivals, the Dola and Rath Jātrās, they engage agents, mostly Brahmans and sometimes barbers and Gauras, and depute them to different parts of India in order to recruit pilgrims. These agents, who are often erroneously called Pandas, are known as bātuās (journeymen) in Oriya and sethos in Bengali. They travel among the chief towns and villages of their circle, carrying with them nirmālya, i.e. rice half boiled and offered to Jagannātha and mahāprasād, i.e. fully boiled rice, sweetmeats, pulses, etc., which have been similarly placed before the god' [10]. The guides offer this sacred food to the people while telling them about the miraculous powers of the god and the benefits to be obtained if one undertakes a journey to his sanctuary at Puri. The pilgrim pledges himself by accepting this gift of food from the God, or at least from his representative. The gift is given back with interest. For the pilgrims (whose tribulations are described at length by Hunter), as soon as they arrive at Puri, go in fact first to visit the temple of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadra and there they lay on the throne jewels, ornaments, money, clothes and other valuable articles. These objects become the property of the temple. "Every hour", says Hunter, "discloses some new idol or solemn spectacle...at first nothing can exceed their liberality to their spiritual guide" [11]. Soon however the pilgrims have exhausted their own resources and they begin to calculate how they can keep the little which remains to them in order to meet the expenses of the return journey home. We should emphasize that the cycle of exchanges does not end with the departure of the pilgrim from the town of Puri. "In Bengal", says R.L. Mitra, "it is the custom for every pilgrim returning from Puri, to send a "picture" and a few grains of the dried cooked rice (mahāprasād) to his friends and relatives" [12].

A certain legend tells of the extraordinary power of the sacred food. A proud man came one day from northern India vowing he would look

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

on the Lord of the World but he would never eat food left by a man or an immortal. But, as he was crossing the bridge outside the town of Puri, his arms and legs fell to the ground, and so he lay for two months by the roadside. One day a dog came out of the town chewing a piece of the sacred food which he dropped near the man. The proud man dragged himself to these remains and ate them. Whereupon the mercy of the god Jagannātha came down on him: he was given new limbs, and he entered the town as a humble disciple. One will see that this account is not unrelated to other facts which are of interest to our analysis [13].

But, for the moment, let us determine the meaning of mahāprasād. "Bhoga", says O'Malley, "means food sanctified by being offered to a god, while food made holy by presentation to Jagannātha goes under the name of mahāprasād. The latter term properly means any food offered to Jagannātha whether cooked or uncooked, rice or other food, but popularly it is used only for cooked rice, pulses, vegetables, tamarind, preparations of the same, and sweetmeats, but not for edible fruit. The bhogas are of two kinds, the kothbhoga or offerings made from the temple funds and the Rājā's house, and chattrabhoga, or offerings made by maths or private persons. About half of the kothbhoga mahāprasād is given as remuneration to the officiating priests, and the rest is sold, the sale proceeds being credited to the account of the Rāja of Puri. It is reported by the Manager that the whole of the kothbhoga is regarded as part of the Rāja's perquisites, from which he allows a portion to the priests. The food is cooked in the temple kitchens (rosa ghara) by the Suars, and is thence removed by a covered passage to the inner sanctuary in the case of ordinary kothbhogas, and to the Bhogamandapa in the case of larger kothbhogas and chatrabhogas. When the food is being presented to the gods, the priests on duty utter mantras, fans and fly-flaps (chamars) are waved, and music is played. Except the Suars and the priests, none can touch the pots, otherwise they become unfit for presentation before the god and have to be thrown away. But on the completion of worship, the food becomes mahāprasād, and then can be touched by anybody and offered even by men of low caste to Brahmans and other of high caste. The mahāprasād thus prepared (minus the quantity retained by the Rāja and the priests on duty) is offered for sale at Sanghara, a place outside the inner enclosure on the way to the Snanavedi. Here the pilgrims, or their Pandas' employees, buy it and take the pots to the lodging houses. The cooking is generally well done, but if kept for more than a day, as is usually the case during the Car Festival, the food putrefies and becomes unfit for consumption" [14].

Let us summarise at this point some of the aspects of the documentation presented so far. After the remarkable Essai sur le Don by Marcel Mauss, and the field researches of Boas and Malinowski, it is hardly necessary to underline the importance of ceremonial exchange in many parts of the globe. In his work, Mauss gives more weight to the primitive documentation than to the historical societies. But we should like to take up here his joking-definition of the Mahābhārata. It is hardly an exaggerstion to say that the pilgrimages to Puri are nothing but a fantastic potlatch: offerings and counter-offerings, displays of food,

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

communal banquets frantic spending, destruction of riches - here are some of the potlatch themes stressed by Mauss and which one finds again very much alive in the cult of Jagannātha [15].

Another aspect of the rites which is worth considering is the role played in the preparation and presentation of the food by the "local people". In the temple kitchen, it is the Suars, the ancient inhabitants of the country, who, alone with the priests, prepare the food [16]. At the moment when the food is offered to the gods, only the Suars and the priests may touch the pots. The communal eating which follows breaks through the barriers of caste, for the people are transformed by what they eat. Mutilated people and members of low castes will have, at least temporarily, the same alimentary rights as the higher castes.

One will find in the Gazetteer by O'Malley a discussion of the influences exercised on the religious syncretism manifest at Puri [17]. At the end of this discussion, the author states quite categorically that the Ratha Jātrā, the "Car Festival", "commemorates the journey of Kṛṣṇa from Gokul to Mathura. According to Hindu mythology", says O'Malley, "Kṛṣṇa, the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu, was the eighth son of Basudeva and his wife Devakī. It had been predicted that a son of theirs would kill Kansa, the demon king of Mathura, who personifies the principle of evil. Kansa, therefore, imprisoned Basudeva and his wife, and slew their first six sons; Balarama, the seventh, was removed from Devakī's womb, transferred to that of Rohini, another wife of Basudeva, and so saved. On the birth of Kṛṣṇa, the father escaped from Mathura with the child and, crossing the Jamuna, entrusted the infant Kṛṣṇa to the care of the Herdsman King, Nanda of Vraja. In Gokul or Vraja, Kṛṣṇa grew up to manhood. Finally, Kansa heard of him, and sent a messenger to bring him and his brother to Mathura. The brothers drove in their chariot victoriously to Mathura, where Kṛṣṇa killed Kansa and ruled in his stead"[18]. According to O'Malley it is therefore to commemorate this episode in the life of Kṛṣṇa that each year in the month of June or July "the images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadra are removed from the temple and taken in chariots to the Garden House (Gundichā-bari) along the Bara Danda road, which is about a mile and a half long. Here the gods remain in the car at night, and are taken out next morning and placed in the shrine. They remain there for a week and are then again put into the cars and taken back to the temple, thus commemorating the return journey of Kṛṣṇa. The rule is that the festival should last nine days, allowing a day for the journey to the Gundicha-bari, a day for the return journey and seven days for the stay there, but in practice it lasts much longer, the return journey sometimes taking many days" [19].

"The cars", continues O'Malley, "are large structures of considerable height, resembling lofty towers, bedecked with tinsel, paintings and wooden statuary. The largest is the car of Jagannātha, which is 45 feet in height and 35 feet square, and is supported on 16 wheels with a diameter of 7 feet. The brother and sister of Jagannātha have separate cars a few feet smaller. The images are brought out from the temple through the Lion Gate and placed on the cars, this being known as the pahandi, a sacred moment when the assembled pilgrims fall on their knees

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

and bow their foreheads in the dust [20]. They then seize the ropes and drag the cars down the Bara Danda road to the Guṇḍicha-bari. The distance is only about one mile and a half, but as the heavy structures have no contrivance to guide them, and the wheels sink deep into the sand, which in some places covers the road, the journey has been known to take several days. Once arrived at the Guṇḍicha-bari, the enthusiasm subsides. By the third day, most of the pilgrims have left, and but for the professional car-pullers, Jagannātha would often be left there. The cars are dragged from the temple by the assembled pilgrims and by a number of villagers, who hold revenue-free lands granted to them as remuneration for the work. When the pilgrims are insufficient to drag the cars back, coolies are engaged from the neighbouring villages" [21].

This outing of a god is not an isolated occurence. It is attested elsewhere in South India. H. Krishna Sastri writes that at predetermined intervals "the god comes out in procession and perhaps sees to the comfort of his attendant deities. Usually there is an important annual festival, representing in some cases the marriage of the god, or some other special event in the doings of the god registered in local chronicles or purāṇas. On such occasions the procession is carried on different vehicles, both common and special, the latter being such as the kalpavṛksha, the wish-granting celestial tree or the kamadhenu, the wish-granting celestial cow, or the mythic animal ganhabherunda. The most important procession will generally be the Car Festival when the god goes round in his huge car through the main streets where his worshippers live and receives worship and offerings at their very homes" [22].

W. Crooke writes, for his part, that there is a common custom of "carrying images in procession, often accompanied with a 'sacred marriage', of washing them in water to remove pollution and strengthen them for the discharge of their duties, or of flinging them into water as rain or fertility charms. The ideal procession, which is intended partly to please the deities, partly to spread their beneficent influences through the streets along which they pass, usually implies Jain or Buddhist tradition, and is more common in South than in North India" [23]. That Crooke considers these rites to be more frequent in the South than in the North is perhaps due to the fact that they have been more frequently observed in the South than in the North. One need only read S. Lévi's descriptions of the Car Festivals in Nepal to be convinced of their importance in that area. "Apart from the sacrifices" he says, "the parading of the car (Ratha-Jātrā) is a regular feature in the festival programme. The car, destined to carry the god and his acolytes or his human representatives, is a massive wooden construction. A structure of strong beams, 30 to 40 feet long, is mounted on a platform on thick wide wooden wheels. The platform supports a scaffolding of 10 - 15 metres. The whole thing is quite reminiscent of our carts of mid-Lent. The apparatus is pulled by hand, without the help of animals; over the long course it covers, it must withstand the most formidable jolts. The alluvial soil of the valley is broken up by streams and gullies where there are no bridges, and ascending as well as descending, the rocks are smashed or give way under the weight of the car. The slightest hitch might hold up the procession for a day, for the car and

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

the god must necessarily spend a night at fixed stopping-places; if the sun should set before they reach the prescribed stopping-place, the next day they will not go past the stopping place they had missed, however near. The crowd watches anxiously for incidents on the way, quick to interpret them as omens" [24].

Some recent remarks of Mrs. Stella Kramrisch will help us to a better understanding of these cars and their relationship with the temples of the gods. "The temple chariot, "she writes,"is neither a copy of the temple nor is it its model. The temple is the stationary (sthira) form, the chariot is the movable (cala) form of the seat and house of god, the tabernacle. The same distinction", she adds, "applies to the image; it is either immovable, the Dhruvabera, permanently fixed in the Garbhagrha, or it is movable (cala) and carried about in procession. Both these varieties of the tabernacle and the image express the two-fold nature of divinity, who as Pure Principle, Śiva, is immovable and has an immovable seat (acalāsana), and as Śakti, Energy, is movement itself and is therefore enthroned on a movable seat (calāsana). This two-fold aspect of divinity has its corresponding rites, images and architectural forms such as the Prāsāda, its seat, and the chariot (yāna), its vehicle" [25].

Paul Mus, making a comparison between the car of Conjeveeram described by Jouveau-Dubreuil and the car carrying the king of Cambodia at his coronation, says that "these cars, like the fixed temples of which they are replicas, constitute worlds in miniature; their steps are the scaffolding of the skies; so it is not at all surprising to find displayed on those described by Mr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, "the whole iconography of Hinduism": these are the celestial stages with all their inhabitants" [26].

Could one in fact say that the interpretation of the Car Festival suggested by O'Malley was the only valid one? Nothing leads us to think that this is the case.

Mus writes concerning the car procession that, "it is not an arbitrary journey: it is the ritual pradakṣinā, developing according to a fixed order within the framework of the cardinal points. The car is led successively to the different points of the compass. This magical tour encompasses the whole of cosmic space, circumscribed magically by the procession, and it englobes also the whole of time, whose cycle it imitates. In passing by the cardinal points, this moving palace of the world passes through the seasons and at the same time the eras of Time that they foreshadow" [27]. The fixed temple, as he remarks shrewdly, does not rest on the ground itself but on a diagram of the cardinal points. Thus "when one circles to the right round a monument one takes it with one during the stretch that one travels, and the pradakṣinā is thus a tour of the world accomplished on the spot because the lay-out of the building brings into play the complete spatio-temporal system of the cardinal points. In magical values, there is little difference between this architectural microcosm, fixed in space and mobile in time, and the structural world on wheels which one takes with one throughout the length

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

and the duration of the procession". Thus for the author of the Barabuḍur "the procession of Juggernaut carries its temple with it. The procession around the Barabuḍur encounters successive replicas of it which await it. In both cases, from one moment to the next, it is the same world and it is not the same: it is the same at different dates in the ritual period, symbol of the cosmic period" [28].

We must say that, for our part, as far as Jagannātha is concerned, we have not found any mention of the fact that "the car is led successively to the different points of the compass". At most, it seems to us, one could say that gods are moved from one cardinal point to another whence they return to their point of departure [29]. The lack of satisfactory ethnographical documentation prevents us from knowing whether something in the nature of an inspection of the other cardinal points takes place. The fact that modern Western writers do not mention an inspection of the cardinal points before, during, or after the moving of the images obviously does not exclude the possibility that at an earlier period this inspection may have taken place. Is it possible to draw any profitable conclusion from this movement of the god in his car from one cardinal point to another? One might be tempted, following E. Senart, to see in it an image or a mime of the daily passage of the sun. It would be a mistake to belittle solar interpretations [30]; but for the moment let us leave aside the question of what they contain of truth and error, and let us emphasize the interest of a group of three elements studied with his usual mastery by Mus. This group: the hut, the thicket, and the promenade was analysed by him, taking the Jyotipāla Sūtra as start point.

"We find everywhere" he writes, "a scenario which is curiously uniform. Thicket, hut, and promenade, that is the scene which our Jyotipāla Sūtra describes for us: the Buddha stops under the trees of the thicket, retires into the hut, then comes out to walk on smooth ground. Near this thicket, when he evokes Kāśyapa, he points out to Ananda only the hut and the promenade of this ancient tathāgata. Let us move on to Bodh-gayā. The Buddha's promenade after his Enlightenment is recounted in various 'Lives' with a wealth of detail, and Hiuan Tsang's account, supported to a great extent by Cunningham's digs, allows us to form a fairly exact idea of the places. Now, what stands out from all the accounts is that the caṅkrama of the Buddha was associated therein with two objects: a pavilion of precious stones built by the gods to shelter the master, and the tree of the Bodhi itself. The Buddha's miraculous walk above the earth, which the caṅkrama specially symbolises, is manifest again in the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī, when he passes to and fro in the air, amidst various miracles; according to certain traditions the gods at that moment construct a magic caṅkrama, thus confirming the affinities between the two themes. But we know, from other sources, that the two accessories essential to the scene are a pavilion, which the Buddha occupies, and a miraculous tree which he has made to grow suddenly: the three symbols are once again assembled here. Let us go back to the nativity. The newborn takes seven steps on ground which is miraculously leveled and where lotus flowers are growing; the event takes place near a tree a branch of which Māyādevī

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

seized, as her side opened and the child came out without pain for the mother; it only remains to find the pavilion: now the Mahayanist texts, in imitation of the Lalitavistara, show Śâkyamuni resting in his mother's womb, sheltered by a marvelous edifice of precious stones placed there by the gods: the exact counterpart of the pavilion of precious stones at Bodh-gayā" [31]. And further on, in the same work, Mus, having compared the tradition of the caṅkrama and that of the seven steps taken by the Buddha at his birth, suggests that "in the seven symbolic steps... the Buddha reaches the mystical pole of the world... In the legend of his birth, there is more than a metaphor: the Buddha literally took his place at the summit of the world, the concrete and the figurative meanings coinciding exactly; the caṅkrama, reduced to two cardinal points, makes appear between these two the vertical direction, the ancient 'gate of heaven'" [32].

Is it justifiable to make a comparison between what happens at Puri at the Car Festival, and the facts analysed above? In fact the god Jagannātha possesses a caṅkrama: he has a palace situated in a garden, surrounded by trees and at one end of his promenade. Mus comments that "if the pavilion of precious stones, which the legend elsewhere relates closely to the promenade of Bodh-gayā, has been transferred into the body of the mother of the Buddha, it must be that this pavilion had a well defined traditional value, already attributed to the hut made of light materials in the more sober installations mentioned in the early traditions; it was the matrix of the Buddha, like the special building of the Brāhmaṇas, that "of he who accomplishes the dīksā'". Mus refers to the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, III, 6,7 [33]. Is it possible to see, at the moment when the god leaves his fixed seat at Puri, indications or traces of the idea of a rebirth? In fact, seventeen days before the Car Festival, another is celebrated, the Snana Jātrā. The images are then brought out of their temple, sprinkled with one hundred and eight pails of water taken from a well which is used only once a year[34]. The images are spoilt as a result of this washing and they are placed in a room apart behind a screen on which are hung three pieces of painted material which represent the gods during their temporary absence. This moment, used by the Daita to repaint and redecorate the images, is called anabasara. When the redecoration of the gods is completed, there follows a period called Nabayauvana, that is, "new youth". The second day, a ceremony called Netrotshava takes place, when the eyes of the gods are "re-made" by the Daita [35]. The third day is known by the name Srī Guṇḍichā: the gods are conveyed on to the cars by the Daita, and the Ratha Jātra begins.

Already, in this account of our sources of information, one realises that there has been a considerable mixing of themes from different sources - which is hardly surprising in a centre which already attracted pilgrims in the twelth century A.D.[36]. We will examine some of these themes more closely later in our analysis. But first we think it would be useful to broaden the bases of the enquiry by comparing the Car Festival at Puri with a Burmese rite celebrated annually at Rangoon and Mandalay. We take the description of this rite from the work of Sir J.G. Scott: The Burman, his life and notions [37]. The festival starts on the first day of the waning moon of Ta'saungmon, that is about the

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

beginning of November, and lasts three days. The rite commemorates the Buddha's visit to his mother who, after her death, was transported to the heaven Tawadeintha (Pāli: Tāvatinsa), the second heaven of the Nats. The Buddha at that time was living in the monastery Zetawun (Pāli: Jetavana), in the country of Thawatti. From that spot, he reached the heaven of the Nats, in three strides. This heaven is situated above the Myinmo Taung, the Centre of the Universe [38]. On reaching the heaven of the Nats, the Buddha preached a sermon on the duties of filial gratitude to a large assembly of byammas, nat-dewas and arhats, and, having expounded the Law which would lead them to the noble way of delivrance, he came down once again by a magnificent stairway made of pieces of gold, silver and precious stones to ne'ban kyaung, where, on his arrival, he received pious offerings from those who awaited him [39]. Mgr. Bigandet adds an interesting detail. While the Buddha was preaching at Tawadeintha, having to go out and seek food, he created the likeness of another Buddha to whom he entrusted the task of continuing the sermon. "As for him, he came to the mountain of Himawonta, ate the young shoots of a certain tree, washed his face in the Lake Anawadat, and ate the food he received from the Island of the North" [40].

The festival is celebrated to recall this episode in the life of the Buddha. The setting up of the scene often takes at least a week. A scaffolding 20 - 50 feet high is prepared. Above the scaffolding a pya that is raised, a sort of tower of seven superimposed roofs which grow smaller in size towards the top. Climbing up this, a sloping path represents the saung dan, the path by which the Buddha ascended. Sometimes, there is a downhill path on the other side which represents the ladder used by the Buddha for his return to earth. But more often the ascent and descent are made on the same slope. Halfway there is sometimes found a terrace which represents the hill Ugandaw on which the Buddha stepped before launching out towards the Tawadeintha heaven.

The first day of the festival, about eight o'clock in the evening, an image of the Buddha, in the seated position, is placed on a small carriage which runs on a sort of tramway. The image is pulled to the top of the turret with the help of a rope attached to a winch. In theory, the image should not go beyond the terrace of the mountain Ugandaw the first night of the ceremony; but very often - even when this terrace exists - the image stops there for only half an hour before continuing its journey. Having arrived at the top, a man with a powerful voice goes behind the image and preaches the sermon on the virtues of filial piety, laid down by the sacred books. The sermon is preached partly in Pāli, partly in a language which is so ornate that few of those who are present are able to follow it, and soon the great crowd of listeners gets ready to sleep. So they hurry, and those who had climbed up on the scaffolding to form the retinue to the image come down again soon, to receive the congratulations of their friends. The image itself stays the whole night at Tawadeintha; and the next evening the descent takes place accompanied by a similar ceremony [41].

During the two days in question "numerous presents are offered to the yahans and offerings are made to the pagodas" [42]. Scott believes

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

it is in order to gain publicity that the donors parade their offerings round a circuitous route before bringing them to the pagodas. But one may ask if, in this case, one is not also confronted with an elaborate mime of the daily actions of the monks in their search of food. "Day and night "says Scott," one finds generous people ready to give food and drink, cigarettes and betel nut to those who choose to give them an opportunity of acquiring merit, for any act of charity accumulates kutho, even if the object aided be base".

The third day of the festival, the image of the Buddha is brought from the scaffolding and pulled along the streets of the town in the early morning. The monks, with their alms-bowls, follow the image and receive alms from the faithful [43].

We have here another example, and this time particularly interesting, since it is enacted, of this "curiously uniform scenario" which Mus stresses. For the promenade in question is related to a tree and a monastery. Moreover, the fact that the Buddha's walk is represented vertically, so to speak, reinforces Mus' analysis when he writes that " the caṅkrama reduced to two cardinal points makes appear between these two the vertical direction, the ancient gate of heaven". If we do not emphasize the Burmese descriptions of the Buddha's behaviour at the moment of his birth, it is because Mus has already made use of these materials and has made the comparison between this episode of the Life and what happens when the Buddha, under the Bodhi tree, achieves Enlightment. At the moment in our account, when the Buddha sets off in quest of his food, one cannot point to a pradakṣiṇā in his action, for all the objects visited are in the cosmic North of the world. But it is significant that at this moment, which one is justified in considering as the model and prototype of the daily behaviour of the monks, the Buddha goes towards the Cosmic North.

On the earthly level, the Buddha's ascent to the heavens is the occasion for a reversal of the normal relations between the Buddhist community and the society: it is the faithful who bring the offerings to the monks and not, as is the usual practice, the monks who collect alms from the faithful. Quest for food and sermon on the virtues of almsgiving in the Tawadeintha heaven; on earth gifts are exchanged and offerings brought to the monks. Different social classes participate temporarily in the same rite. This happens at a moment when heaven and earth are linked by the mediation of the Buddha. In order to hear him, the gods descend from other celestial heavens, and his voice penetrates to the ears of the inhabitants of our earth [44]. In terms of Buddhology, the theme of levelling is well known. With reference to the seven steps of the Buddha, Mus writes [45] that "when placing his foot on a flower, sprung from the ground for this purpose, the Buddha will avoid treading on the latter. He will remain pure from all contact with a level of the world where creatures, entangled in the bonds of matter, circulate. It is, in fact, the fundamental law of Buddhist cosmology that the creatures, at each superimposed level of the world, are made of the same substance as the level itself. From the bottom to the top, for he who moves towards his liberation the senses and the objects of the senses fade away

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

gradually and simultaneously; orders of creatures and levels of creation now de-materialize by degrees, just as before, at the beginning of the world, they were differentiated and given substance in successive layers below the initial point, from which everything derived. The Buddhist fable expresses crudely this basic truth in telling how the creatures, at first quite without substance, saw an 'earth' appear, scented and perfumed, of which they ate, which penetrated them, gave them substance and weight, thus creating simultaneously, below the pure spirits, a level and category of beings who had come down to this particular level of substantiation. As the story was repeated, the world was produced [46]. This alimentary theory", adds Mus, "which offers particularly obvious analogies with certain Vedic concepts expressed, for example, in the Puruṣasūkta, is an Indian expression of the old magic notion of identification by contact...". We should add that, whatever the magico-religious hierarchy, the social pyramid is an economic reality. And, as one finds in reading Scott, economic exchanges between different members of the society are not only facilitated but become the rule when contact between the different heavens is reestablished.

In the case we have just studied, it is a question of a gathering which takes place in Burma in order to commemorate a mythical time. Let us read now the lines written by Paul Lévy, in conclusion to his excellent study of the buffalo sacrifice in Laos. This sacrifice, he says, "has not only an oracular value; it aims not only to obtain the favours of the protective spirits of the country and back up predictions; it has another use; that of a frankly memorial act. Of the fabled past, the stone, the giant grain of rice, is the lasting witness, and this witness, to which the ceremony gives back again its full value, will evoke, in an almost tangible manner, the abundance of former times which will thus not be permanently lost. For it is former times which this ceremony aims to restore before the seasons change and bring to men their part of the unknown. And men want to approach this unknown with the maximum of foresight and precaution: everything exceptional in past events will be recalled, revived during the exceptional period of time opened up by the festival" [47]. At the sacrifice of the buffalo in T'ai country we are far away from Jagannātha, far even from Mandalay and Rangoon. But the elementary and fundamental structure of the rites remains curiously similar in the three cases. At the moment when the god or his intermediary unites the earth and the sky and walks between these two worlds (the sacrifice, need one say again, is essentially a journey) at the moment when the texts speak of a levelled soil where the mountains and the valleys are no longer in relief, the world of terrestrial beings, in the rites which relive the myths, undergoes a similar levelling.

After this excursion into Burma, let us return again to Jagannātha. We have already seen at Puri the forms taken by the regeneration of the idols, namely the washing, the ornamenting and clothing of the idols, and the period of seclusion in the Guṇḍichā-bari, in short the dīkṣā. But this annual rebirth does not alone suffice. The idols have a vital force, and this vital force must be strengthened periodically by another more dangerous ceremony. Descriptions of this ceremony differ: according to Colonel Phipps a legend tells how "when two new moons occur in Assur

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

(Asarh), which is said to happen about once in seventeen years, a new idol is always made. A Nim tree is sought for in the forests, on which no crow or carrion bird has ever perched. It is made known to the initiated by certain signs. The tree is shaped to the required form by common carpenters, and is then entrusted to certain priests who are protected from all intrusion: this part of the process is a great mystery. One man is selected to take out of the idol a small box containing its "soul", which is then inserted in the new idol; the man who does this is always removed from this world before the end of the year" [48].

According to another account, a young boy is chosen to remove from the heart of the idol a little box containing quicksilver, which is regarded as the mind or soul and which is transferred to the new image. The boy always dies during the year [49].

According to another legend, the relics enclosed in the idol are thought to be the bones of Kṛṣṇa, discovered in the forest by a pious person who was directed by Visnu to create an image of Jagannātha and to place the bones in it [50].

"Every third year, they make a new image, when a Brahman removes the original bones of Kṛṣṇa from the inside of the old image and puts them is the new one; on this occasion he covers his eyes, lest he should be struck dead for looking on such sacred relics. The Rāja of Burdwan in a journey to Puri spent twelve lakh of rupees as a bribe to the Brahmans to permit him to see these bones; but he died six months after for his temerity" [51].

The "Gazetteer" of O'Malley gives us the name of this ceremony. It is known as Nuā Kalebara: the new body. "Within the last sixty years, it has been celebrated in 1853 and in 1877. It was expected again in 1893, but was not celebrated, according to one account, because of a popular tradition that the carpenter, a Brahman priest and one of the Rāja's household would die within the year. There should also have been a Kalebara in 1900 according to the Bengali calendar, but not according to the Oriya almanacs, and the latter were followed. The popular belief is that the festival depends on the durability of the wood of which the images are made. If the festival takes place at an interval of one yuga (12 years) or more, the images are entirely renewed, and the old ones buried in great secrecy; but if there is a smaller interval of time, only a partial renovation is necessary" [52].

The reader will find other Indian parallels with this rite in a note of W. Crooke's in the Hastings Encyclopedia [53]. In my opinion Crooke over-simplifies when he writes that the image "is useless up till the moment when the god is persuaded to enter it". For, as Crooke himself indicates, the god in similar cases can be represented by various material objects. Apart from the well known custom of putting dhāraṇi in statues, we should note that in Tibetan tradition "grains of sacred rice from the altar, bodily remains, hair, nail clippings, pieces of the clothes of holy men, and precious metal filings", according to Waddell, are put into the images when they are consecrated [54]. It is not easy to

305-8
M415e
ACC NO. 22049

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

find any kind of correspondence, however imperfect, between the god and the object inserted. K.L. Reichelt gives other variants of the same kind of rite observed by him in China. In this last case the act of consecration may involve "putting a snake or some other reptile into the figure through an opening in the back, or by smearing the blood of a cock on the breast of the statue" 55. It is the images of minor gods and Taoist divinities which are consecrated in this way; in the case of Buddhist images "a heart or a gall-bladder of silver or gold or some mixture prepared from bitter herbs may be poured into the opening" 56.

The general meaning of this form of consecration is clear and there is no point in simply multiplying references. Mus has examined a good part of the textual evidence for the existence of these rites in the second chapter of the fifth part of his Barabudur, and here we need only indicate his conclusions. In the following passage one can replace the word tomb by the word statue. "Man's person represented, it was believed, a reflection of the universe, and his life a hypostasis of the cosmic life. As the body, image of the Great Whole, constituted for man during his lifetime an animated support, so the tomb, after his death, will be, with the remains which it may receive, the support of all his after-life, or more generally of every quality with which he may be endowed after death. Since it is a funereal world the tomb is a body if only because the world, its model, is one. An architectural body, we have said - one could doubtless add: a substitution body equivalent to a man and which should be treated as such. In consequence, the insertion of mortal remains into the structure - the remains of the victim in the case of the altar of fire, the remains of the dead in certain Vedic funerary traditions, and finally the relics of the Buddha, endowed with a supernatural virtue, in the case of the stūpa - would have had above all as objective to ensure the magic transfer or the transmutation of the deceased person: a link, or, according to an idea which is common in these matters, a contact ensuring the passage, better the identification of that which the person was with that which he becomes, whatever is to be understood by such a 'becoming'"57.

It seems to me at least doubtful that it was not until the advent of the great religions with universalist tendencies that such rites were organised. Let us recall for example, one of the gods of the Muria described by V. Elwin in his excellent monograph on this tribe 58. Let us not dwell on the fact that the anga has a form and a character less unique among the aboriginal gods than Elwin seems to think, and let us come directly to his descriptions of this god. In form the anga is an arrangement of three parallel poles over which are tied with rope, cross-pieces of bamboo or saja. "The central pole is the actual god, the two side poles being simply intended to enable his two or four bearers to raise him and carry him about. This central pole has a curious head called koko which resembles that of a snake or bird. At the junctions of the logs and cross bars there are tufts of peacock feathers. Silver ornaments, symbols of the sun and moon and sometimes plain rupees, are nailed to the ends of the poles.... Sometimes the anga is two-headed: husband and wife live together... sometimes the anga's wife is made in the form of a pole and placed upon him.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

"The anga is kept in a special shrine apart from the other gods and is either suspended by ropes from the roof or placed on a bamboo support a couple of feet above the ground. When it is taken abroad or goes to live for a time in someone's house, a special stand must be made for it. The anga usually has a jiwa or soul. At Phunder it is a piece of iron carefully preserved under the sacrificial stone in front of the shrine. In Semurgaon the soul of Lingo is a bit of iron wrapped in a grass bundle and hung above its body. Sometimes the soul goes abroad of its own accord and has to be replaced with appropriate offerings. At Chingnar the soul of Son Kuar goes to hunt at night and in the morning feathers are found scattered about his shrine" [59].

It is interesting to point out that the making of an anga is a complex and dangerous process. "However it is a necessary one because new gods are born from time to time, and the old gods wear out. There is a general idea that an anga 'dies' every three or four generations. When this happens it leaves its mortal frame and troubles its clansmen until they make it a new one" [60].

It is possible to establish a certain number of similarities between the structure of these rites and that of the worship of Jagannātha. In the case of the Gonds, the death of people taking an active part in the making of the anga is a well-attested fact, at least on the legendary level. And the Gonds say in general that such undertakings should be left to the care of old men whose vital strength, already nearing its end, is in less danger of suffering injurious effects than that of a young man in his prime [61].

The logic of these rites is not a pre-logic and is not found only in primitive societies. One finds the same idea in the development of philosophical concepts such as the dharmakāya of the Buddhists. Here is what one Buddhologist says about it: "At the level of the buddhology of the Lotus, the notion of dharmakāya comes at the point of intersection of two ideal lines one proceeding from the channel of the Laws (dharma) preached, the other from the channel of the Bodies (kaya) of the preacher Buddhas. This logical construction rests on three principles: the conception of a Law, and of a progression within this Law, which becomes more and more pure and as it were more distant, as one considers it when moving up through the series of beings: the conception of a Body of Buddha, and of a progression in the conception of this Body, which also becomes more and more pure as one rises; and finally the idea that the point at which the two unite is beyond all possible knowing. From century to century it will have been the constant effort of Buddhism to construct in this way the unknowable by various means. And the error into which it has been constantly and naturally drawn has been then to materialize the ideal position so laboriously constructed, often very ingeniously and even with philosophical depth. "Mus adds in a footnote: "This has happened notably to the bhavāgra, the ideal point at the summit of the pyramid of the world: constantly rematerialised after having been established ideally, and carried again each time higher than these successive materialisations, it has contributed to the multiplication of the cosmic steps near the limit of existence and non-existence" [62].

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

The town of Puri has a svargadvāra. It is at the South West corner of the town and stretches the distance of a thousand cows in the sand dunes by the sea 63. It is a spot where the pilgrims wash and the dead are buried. The methods of burying low and high castes differ but the two without distinction use the same ground. This bhavāgra then is material, not distant, and is accessible to all. The organisation of the site certainly cannot be attributed to the Buddhists alone. Others, notably the Brahmans, have doubtless played a part in its development. We should note that here is the gate of the world of the faithful. Although the name of svargadvāra is given to this limit of the spiritual and physical adventure which is constituted by the Puri pilgrimage, it is not impossible, in the light of other documents, that the gate of Jagannātha's own heaven is at the Guṇḍichā-bari, although that place is not known by that name.

What conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of the legendary and the real, the ancient and the modern themes which we have examined? It seems to me that Hunter was right in saying that "Both the Buddhists and the later worshippers of Jagannātha borrowed the central idea of this cult from those older woodland rites, of which traces survive in every hamlet of Bengal. To this day, each district has some secluded spot in the jungle, whither the villagers flock once a year to adore the genius loci, in the shape of a log, or a lump of clay, or a black stone, or the trunk of a tree. "I believe", says Hunter, "the Car Festival is only a very pompous development of this primitive hankering after forest devotions, skilfully incorporated with the incidents of the legendary life of Kṛṣṇa, who was himself essentially a woodland god" 64. Elsewhere he remarks, "different fiscal divisions claim, as a precious hereditary right, the privilege of rendering service to the god. The jungly highlands on the west of the Chilka supply the timber for the Car Festival. The lowlands on the north of the lake annually send thousands of peasants to drag the sacred vehicle. The inhabitants delight to explain the etymology of their towns and villages by referring their names to some incident in the history of the image. The royal line has for centuries performed menial offices before the image... and the kings of Orissa bear the title of Hereditary Sweeper to Jagannātha" 65.

The legend we have quoted puts the emphasis on the fact that the god Jagannātha was discovered in Eastern India by a Brahman, and that the image of the god was revealed a second time in the form of a piece of wood thrown up on to the sand by the sea, that is to say, come from the geographical East. The theme of the magical piece of wood has parallels in Indo-China and in Ceylon 66. It was Hunter's opinion that the first part of the legend pictured the importation of the worship of Viṣṇu by an Aryan king from the North-West and its fusion with aboriginal rites already existing in Orissa. The theme of the marriage of a Brahman with a young local girl has parallels in some South-East Asian legends. The twofold insistence on the fact that the image comes from the East is not in itself surprising. Most ethnologists are agreed in looking in this area for a reflection of the much debated substratum of India 67; we have recalled that the communication of ideas between Orissa and South East Asia has been a historical fact since ancient times. But it

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

would be imprudent to look for an ancestor of Jagannātha in South East Asia - the Melanesian tiki springs inevitably to mind-before examining the images at Puri of which we are studying the ins and outs.

We have seen how the legend accounts for the shape of the images and Sterling says that the images are shapeless "because the Vedas have declared that the deity has no particular form; and that they have received their present grotesque and hideous countenances, with the view to terrify men to make them good" 68. Some reflections by R.L. Mitra are quite interesting. "It is obvious" he says, "that the images are not only ugly, but that they were not originally designed to represent the image of a man. Even in the most primitive times, absolutely untutored men would not have shaped the blocks as they are for human figures. The small stump below could not have been designed for human legs; the narrow waist is not human; and the merging of the head and chest into one piece without any demarcation for the neck is not what our experience of primitive art would lead us to expect" 69. We should take note that it is a Hindu who sees the images with this eye and not a Western historian of Indian art. "The insertion of the arms in a line with the upper lip is also a kind of error, "he says, "to which even primitive men were not liable. We must, therefore, look for the genesis of the figures in some other cause" 70. He concludes that "Bearing in mind the facts...regarding the relation of Jagannātha to Buddhism, the only satisfactory solution to the problem must be looked for in the emblems of the Buddhist religion" 71. The theory according to which the three images are an adaptation of the Buddhist triratna - the Buddha, the Law, and the Church - was first clearly formulated by General Cunningham 72. For details of this theory the reader can consult Mitra's résumé on pages 125-127 of his second volume. Mitra maintains that "there is no textual authority" for Sterling's statements quoted above. The fact that later texts, including the mahātmyas of that country, do not suggest the parallels that we are about to propose is no reason for finding our interpretation fanciful. The description of the images that one finds in the Puruṣottama Mahātmya, as Mitra himself remarks, "does not correspond at all to reality but the faithful nevertheless accept it as a description of the images such as we see them".

Taking account of the multiplicity of influences in the cult and the fragmentary descriptions of the rites, it would certainly be unwise to try to explain the various ceremonies by one rite, one myth or one religion. In my opinion, however, we are justified in looking for a cosmic significance in the Car Festival: for we are faced with a ceremony in which several different classes and castes are participating, where pilgrims from the whole of India meet together and eat the same rice. If we are not mistaken, we are dealing here with one of the rare religious facts that one could call "Indian". Apart from the potlatch-like aspect of the ceremony (we have already drawn attention to it), what are the essential points of the religious structure that we have just examined? The alimentary communion manifests a temporary levelling of the distinctions of caste and class. At a moment when all are gathered in a temporary equality, the body of their god is completed: he is given hands and lower limbs. The temporary gathering of society is accompanied

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

then by a reconstruction of the body of the god [73]. It would be more correct to say that the images of the three gods are reconstructed. But the central figure of the Car Festival is undoubtedly Jagannātha himself, and the search for the origin or origins of this triad is an historical problem which goes beyond the framework of this study.

According to some scholars it is to Buddhism that one should turn for a satisfactory explanation of the rites. According to others, they are indebted in many of their aspects to Viṣṇuism and Kṛṣṇaism. We have seen that the ceremonies at Puri provide an opportunity for many different castes to meet, and in our opinion some researchers have been too quick to see straightaway a Buddhist influence there. The association of different castes and classes in the same rite, as we have seen, is a fairly common occurence in several tribal societies which have not yet been classed under the heading "Buddhist". But the reintegration of the individual in his god is a leitmotiv which runs through more than two thousand years of Indian thought; and one of the expressions of this reintegration consists in the explanation of the reconstruction of his body, achieved in the reconstruction of the body of his god. In short, Agni becomes, or rather becomes again, Prajāpati.

Puri is par excellence a meeting place between the Aryan and non-Aryan elements of the population. Hunter saw in the legend a schema in the form of a tale of the Aryanisation of Orissa [74]. Is Prajāpati Aryan or non-Aryan? We have attempted in a short article to raise some of the problems posed by this question without claiming to resolve them [75]. But what is certain is that the legend is quoted in the texts not only in analyses of cosmo-physiological problems, but also when the actual structure of society is being examined.

Let us examine certain of these texts, starting with the Ṛg Veda, X, 90, where the Sanskrit text tells us that at the moment of the dismemberment of the cosmic Great Male:

brāhmaṇo 'sya mukham āsīd bāhū rājanyaḥ kṛtaḥ
ūrū tad asya yad vaiśyaḥ padbhyāṃ sūdroajāyata.

Mus has recently re-examined the translation of this passage [76]. From his philological analysis of the passage, he has drawn the following. The first three equivalents, that is to say, between the Brahman, the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya and the parts of the body of the Puruṣa, are presented grammatically as static equivalents. Should one attribute a sociological value to the use of the ablative concerning the Sūdra ? For, in this version of the hymn to the Puruṣa, the Śūdra are not an integral part of the original social body: they are born from its feet. We have therefore an image of a society whose essential form was composed of three castes. The fourth caste exists only by virtue and by function of the first three, of which it is only so to speak a product. All this may seem rather imaginative and artificial. But a number of works by G. Dumézil establish definitively that Indo-European society was essentially a society of three castes. Our text confirms this line of thought when it says that the three quarters of the Puruṣa rose to

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

heaven. These three castes are the twice born, that is to say they can hope to obtain this second birth that the texts call immortality. For the fourth caste this hope does not exist. The Śūdra here is nothing but the unfortunate original inhabitant, excluded from the judicial and social state which the Indo-Europeans brought with them when they came to India. The Indo-Europeans found themselves faced with the immense mass of non-Aryan India. It is therefore clear that the three quarters of the Puruṣa should be considered qualitatively and not quantitatively.

Should one see in the Puruṣasūkta a tool of government, or, to use an expression of Paul Mus', "a colonial charter"? In my opinion, the lack of documentation on the beliefs of those outside the literary circles rules out any historical analysis of the practical application of the myth. One can, however, be sure that the divisions of society did not need a myth in order to exist in reality. Nevertheless it seems that the Indo-Europeans felt the need to link India with their own ancestral beliefs. The political situation required religious consecration. What did they do to remedy it? They projected an event of the day into the past. That the resulting myth represents a historical lie is not in question. For the Brahmanical instrument of government was first mythical and then religious.

It would have been astute on the part of the Brahmans to take as instrument for the codification of society a myth which was foreign to their own society, a myth which was indigenous to non-Aryan India. Whether this was the reality we do not know, and no doubt we shall never know. But what is interesting to note is that the myth has evolved through the centuries of Indian history, in a more intimate contact between the two great elements of the culture: the Aryan and the non-Aryan elements. Manu, like the Puruṣasūkta will throw back a present situation to a false mythical past (which is a reality, certainly, inasmuch as people believe in it) and will attribute the birth of the four great castes to the dismemberment of the same mythical giant. This time, however, one can foresee an important distinction. The whole second book of Manu will deal with the problem of mixed castes. The Śūdra now form an integral part of the Puruṣa. They form part of his body: but their integration leads to their humiliation. They are the slaves of the others. As before the three high castes are predestined to a second birth. The Śūdra remains predestined to one single death, earthly death.

As far as we know no one has contested the right of the three high castes to participate in the important ceremonies at Puri. The legends agree in saying that in the past the low castes also had the right to take part in them. The lists of those who are excluded vary a great deal, and Hunter complained of it, saying that he was told that the priests were much less strict about excluding a caste when they were pilgrims from far away than when they were local people who were not paying 77. In general, it seems the following formula would be accurate: "A man must be a very pronounced non-Aryan to be excluded" 78. Also his remark concerning the fact that "the landless servile castes of the lowlands" are not allowed to enter the temple, is significant 79.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Throughout this exposé, we have emphasized the role played by the local tribes in the ceremonies. It seems that only those who own land or those who fulfil a religious function within the essentially Aryan structure of the rites have the right to play this privileged role today. It is the Daita, indigenous priests, who attach the feet to the statue.

If the reconstruction of the body of Jagannātha reminds one of the reconstruction of the body of Prajāpati what is the significance of the Car Festival? We have looked at Paul Mus' interpretation of it as a ritual pradakṣiṇā, a tour of the cardinal points [80]. We have also drawn attention to his analysis of the complex: the caṅkrama, the tree, and the hut, and we have sketched out certain Burmese themes which, we believe, illustrate and enlarge our comprehension of the structure of the rites in which this complex figures. Should one then interpret the outing of Jagannātha as an imitation of the Buddha's seven steps at his birth, seven steps which were to lead him to the summit of the world? It is an attractive theory, and so much the more so because we have seen that it is after a renewal of his youth that the god leaves his permanent seat. However, we have seen that the svargadvāra at Puri is not situated in the Guṇḍichā-bari but by the sea in the sand dunes.

Perhaps one should try to take Paul Mus' analysis further, which approached separately the theme of the reconstruction of Prajāpati and the theme of the seven steps. For my part I am tempted to compare them. Ṛg Veda, X, 90 does not speak of a ritual pradakṣiṇā accomplished by Prajāpati. It says simply that three quarters of the Puruṣa rose to the sky: it is in this fact, as much as in the Viṣṇuite affinities, that I for my part, would see a prototype both of the seven steps of the Buddha and of the outing of the god Jagannātha. Let us reread verses 3,4 and 16 of the Puruṣasūkta:

"Such is his height and bigger yet is the Man. All beings are a quarter of his measure, the three others are the immortal in heaven.

With these three quarters, the Man rose on high. But the other quarter remained here, where it has developed in every direction the things which eat and those which do not eat.

The gods have sacrificed the sacrifice to the sacrifice; such were the primordial laws. The powers of this act have reached heaven, where the ancient saints and gods are" [81].

A last point whose importance we were shown by J. Filliozat. When Eugène Bournouf was translating the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in 1840, he was struck by the similarity between certain passages of his text and other passages from the Vedas. This led him to translate and insert in his preface to the Bhāgavata the hymn X, 90 of the Ṛg Veda. On the subject of the Puruṣasūkta, he wrote, "If one compares this singular passage with the corresponding part of the second book of our Bhāgavata, that is with the end of chapter V, stanza 35 and the beginning of chapter VI as far as stanza 29, one will have an idea of the way in which the author of

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

the Bhāgavata has appropriated and at the same time modified Vedic ideas and expressions. The differences one notes in these two drafts... are as numerous as they are important. They do not, however, appear to me to invalidate the conclusion which I feel justified in drawing from the comparison of these two passages, namely that the author of the Bhāgavata has here, as in many other passages, merely developed and expounded a text which is the object, since long ago, in India, of a fame that is universally recognized".

We do not claim that Jagannātha is Prajāpati. That would be anachronistic: and I did not set out to reconstruct the history of the cult according to the texts, which provide only one thread of the history of thought. Orientalists very often reproach ethnologists for wanting to interpret the rituals in the texts in the light of modern ethnographical documents I risk perhaps being reproached for doing the reverse. However that may be, I am only pointing out curious similarities of structure in the present-day rites and in certain ancient religious texts. Since Keith there has been something of a tendency to repeat that Prajāpati is not a popular god [83]. I hope to have raised some doubts in the reader's mind about the soundness of that theory.

NOTES

1. The best are: W. WARD, A view of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindous, Serampore, 1815, II, p. 163-; A. STERLING, Orissa, its geography, statistics, religions and antiquities, London, 1846, p. 116-; W.W. HUNTER, Orissa, London, 1872, I, p. 81-; R.L. MITRA, Antiquities of Orissa, Calcutta, 1880, II, p. 99-; L.S.S. O'MALLEY, Bengal District Gazetteers, Puri, Calcutta, 1908, p. 87-; there are some literary references in Hobson-Jobson, London, 1886, p. 355-357, and some historical references in R.D. BANERJI, History of Orissa, Calcutta, 1930, passim. See also VINAYAK MISRA, "Folklore and Puranic Tradition about the origin of god Jagannātha", in IHQ, XIII, 1937, p. 600-609.

2. Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie, Paris, 1948, p 58.

3. Suvarnadvīpa, Dacca, 1937, I, p. 226-227.

4. Op. cit., p. 109, quoting J. Bur. R.S., 1915, p. 26-27 and Cinquantenaire, EPHE, 1921, p. 101-119.

5. Note also, while waiting for the publication of the research undertaken by L. Bernot, an article by C. LEVI-STRAUSS, "Le syncrétisme religieux dans un village Mog du Territoire de Chittagong", in RHR, vol. CXLI, no. 2, April-June, 1952, p. 202-237.

6. This refers, of course, to cultural not political colonies.

7. W.W. HUNTER, Orissa, I, p. 89.

8. Les religions de l'Inde, Paris, 1914, I, p. 237.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

9. Op cit., I, p. 82.

10. Gazetteer, p. 113.

11. Op. cit., I, p. 142.

12. Antiquities of Orissa, II, p. 136. One will compare this pattern of exchange with those of other societies, where the religious mechanism is less systematically organised. Here is an example: "Concerning the T'ai festival of the Cam Muong, the Khmu take part by giving to the T'ai, in the form of a supplementary tax, the sum of twenty cents per family. In return on the day when the T'ai celebrate their festival, the Khmu have the right to come and watch. As a souvenir they take away with them from the festival a tiny piece of meat, worth 2 or 3 cents, from one of the buffalo which have been sacrificed. The Khmu carefully carry this princely present back to the village. They gather all the pieces of meat together in the middle of a ray which is itself in the centre of the fields which have been cultivated that year, place a fagot of wood on them, light it and keep the fire burning until all the pieces are completely consumed. The odour released from them rises, it seems, till it pleases the sense of small of King P'rong, King of the harvest, and makes him favourably disposed to the work of the fields". (BEFEO, 1927, p. 199).

13. HUNTER, op. cit., I, p. 86-87.

14. Gazetteer, p. 118. On the maths, see ibid, p. 112-113. The ethnographical study in depth of one of these houses would be valuable for knowledge of the organisation of the pilgrimages. On the subject of the camara, see B. LAUFER, Sino-Iranica, Chicago, 1909, p. 564-565. On the mahāprasād, see W. S. BROOKE, "Note on the custom of mahāprasād in the Sambhalpur District", in IA, VII, 1878, and V. ELWIN, Tribal Myths of Middle India, Madras, 1940, p. 475. It is perhaps not irrelevant to mention that Mus translates the word sambhogakāya as "communal body" (Barabudur, Esquisse d'une histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes, Hanoi, 1935, II, p. 661).

15. We are not unaware that there is a lot of discussion these days about the exact application of the term "potlatch". What is important to note is that the pattern of economic exchanges coincides with the pattern of movement of the pilgrims who come from all directions to one cultural centre - in this case Puri. They bring with them their riches and the greatest expenditure takes place at the temporary centre of demographic density. To spend generously en route and then behave stingily at Puri, does not seem to constitute desirable religious behaviour.

16. I have not been able to consult S.N. ROY, "The Savars of Orissa", in Man in India, VII, 1927.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

17. Op. cit., p. 87.

18. Op. cit., p. 106.

19. Ibid. Here is some information on the Guṇḍichā-bari taken from MITRA, II, p. 138-139. The images entered by the Sinhadvāra, the Lion Gate, which faces the Baradanda road. Next to it there is another, known as the Vijayadvāra, the Victory Gate, through which the images come out after their stay in the garden temple. The garden which surrounds the temple is full of trees. In the temple itself there is a seat, unornamented and made of chlorite, 19 feet long and 4 feet high, called Ratnavedi, the throne of the jewels, on which the images are placed during their stay. See R.D. BANERJI, op. cit., I, p. 316.

It is at this spot which according to the legends, dates from the time of king Indradyumna, that the latter is supposed to have made an aśvamedha sacrifice. It was in this neighbourhood that the piece of sacred wood in the legend appeared, coming, according to some accounts, from the island Çvetadvīpa. Here too Viçvakarman is said to have made the images of the gods. The local people call a visit to the garden Janakpura yatra, that is, a procession to the father's dwelling place. The Uriyas call it Mausighar, house of the mother's sister, and the Bengalis Masivadi. Guṇḍichā, according to some, is the name of Indradyumna's principal queen, who seems to have been his aunt also. Legends often refer to the spot as janma-pradayini, the birth place of Jagannātha. It has been suggested that the word Guṇḍichā is derived from the Bengali word guṇḍi "a block of wood". Jules Bloch tells me he thinks this possible and suggests further that one could be dealing with a compound of the type "torpedo-man" and so: tree trunk-child. In the Uriya language, Guṇḍichā is used in the same sense and so brings us back to the piece of wood from which Jagannātha was constructed.

Clearly the site is considered as a place of origin, point of departure for later rites. It is interesting to compare the function of the Guṇḍichā-bari with that of the Vietnamese nghè. See BEFEO, vol. XXX, I-2, 1930, p. 10.

20. MITRA, op. cit., II, p. 132, adds these important details: "When the images have been seated on their thrones in their respective cars, they are richly dressed and ornamented for the occasion and provided with golden hands and feet. After this the Rāja of Khurda comes in a large procession, with horses, elephants, palankins and other paraphernalia. When about a hundred yards in front of the foremost car, he descends from his vehicle walking barefoot, and as the hereditary sweeper of the temple, sweeps the ground in front of the cars with a jewelled broom, and worships the images in due form with flowers and incense. Then, descending from the last car, he successively holds the cables attached to the three cars and emblematically drags them,..."One will not fail to compare this event with the passage in the legend where the king tries to drag

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

the block of wood to the temple. It is equally significant that the king worships the images with the first offerings of the legend.

21. Gazetteer, p. 106-107.

22. South Indian images of Gods and Goddesses, Madras, 1916, p. 7. Cf. Robert KNOX, An Historical Relation of Ceylon, Glasgow, 1911, p. 125.

23. HERE, vol. 7, p. 145 b. For Jainism see, for example, RUSSELL and HARILAL, The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India, vol. I, London, 1916, p. 227-228; for other processions of images in South India, cf. A. WHITEHEAD, The village gods of South India, Calcutta, 1916, passim.

24. Le Népal, Paris, 1905, II, p. 39.

25. The Hindu Temple, Calcutta, 1946, I, p. 159.

26. Barabuḍur, p. 380.

27. Op. cit., p. 381.

28. Barabuḍur, p. 382.

29. Clearly the route followed would lead, according to the map in Mitra, II, pl. L, from the South West to the North East. Is this another fact to add to the file on the ritual importance of the North East, a file kept for a number of years by P. Paris? See BEFEO, vol. XLI, 1941, p. 303-29; L'importance rituelle du Nord-Est et ses applications en Indochine (Communic. au XXIe Congres Intern. des Orientalistes, Paris, 1948, p. 226-227); and " Le Nord-Est ou Levant d'été particulièrement en Indochine", in Bull. de la Soc. des Et. indochinoises, XXV, 3, 1950, p. 257-62.

30. A lunar interpretation of the cult has recently been suggested ("The Cult of Jagannātha, its lunar origin", in Journal of the University of Gauhati, vol. III, 1952, p. 65-77). The author's arguments are not very convincing.

31. Op. cit., p. 412-13. See also, on the theme of the seven steps, "Les Sept Pas du Buddha et la doctrine des terres pures" (Barabuḍur, p. 475-576). Mgr. E. Lamotte adds some information from Chinese sources: Le Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse, Louvain, 1944, vol. I, p. 6-10, n. Mgr. Lamotte does not seem convinced by the efforts made to extract the symbolism from "this legendary theme". Mircea Eliade has tackled the problem;" Sapta padani kramati," in Munshi Diamond Jubilee commemoration volume, Part I, Bharatiya vidya, vol. IX, p. 180. For my part I am convinced that real progress will only be made in this field when the myths are studied in the light of the rites. For the legendary themes often have a functional value which until now has been ignored.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

32. Op. cit., p. 491.

33. Op. cit., p. 418-9.

34. O'MALLEY, op. cit., p. 104.

35. One will recall, among other similar events, the Cambodian ceremonies described by Leclère in his Cambodge, Les Fêtes civiles, religieuses, bouddhiques, privées, de famille et propitiatoires, Paris, 1896, p. 139. cf. I. TSING, A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago, tr. J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, p. 46. Cf. equally the ceremony of the opening of the ancestral tablets in China (W. Eberhard, Chinese Festivals, New York, 1952, p. 43) and Robert KNOX, op. cit., p. 130-131.

36. MONMOHAN CHAKRAVARTI, "The date of the Jagannātha temple in Puri", in JASB, LXVII, 1898, p. III, p. 328-331. For a description of Jagannātha as Mahāpuruṣa see ibid., p. 328.

37. London, 1910, p. 328.

38. On the subject of this heaven there are interesting details in The Burmese Empire a hundred years ago as described by Father Sangermano, with introduction and notes by John Jardine, London, 1893, p. 18. There is good reason to compare these details with the facts collected by G. Tucci in his article "A propos Avalokiteçvara", in MCB, IX, Brussels, 1948-1951, particularly p. 196.

39. For the textual versions of this descent, consult Mgr. E. LAMOTTE, op. cit., 1949, vol. 2, 634-635, n. I. For the same theme in the Singhalese tradition, see F.S. HARDY, A Manual of Buddhism, London, 1880, p. 308-313, and for the traditions recounted by the Chinese pilgrims J. JEGGE, A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, Oxford, 1886, p. 47; S. BEAL, Buddhist records of the Western World, London, 1884, I, p. 202-204; T. WATTERS, On Yuang Chwangs Travels in India, London, 1904-1905, I, p. 333. According to the Tibetan biography (A. SCHIEFNER, Eine tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Sakyamuni's Saint-Petersburg, 1849, p. 43) the Buddha descended the steps on the 22nd of the month in the middle of Autumn. As Kern has remarked (Histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde, tr. Huet, Paris, 1903, vol. I, p. 160, n. I) this corresponds fairly well with the month of October mentioned by BIGANDET (Vie ou légende de Gaudama, le Buddha des Birmans, Paris, 1878, p. 205) cf. also W. W. ROCKHILL, The life of the Buddha, London, 1884, p. 82. For the iconographical representation of the theme, see, among others, A. FOUCHER, Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara, Paris, 1905-1922, I, p. 483-486.

40. Op. cit., p. 207. The Singhalese version tells us why the Buddha acts in this way. The devas eat only once every hundred years. If the Buddha had eaten normally during his stay with them they would have thought that he was eating to excess. (HARDY, op. cit., p. 310).

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

41. The important thing about this ceremony, as in the Car Festival of Puri, seems to be the accompaniment of the image during its outing-or if one prefers-its ascent. It is regrettable that Scott does not give more details on the accompaniment during the descent. The three ladders of the texts are here, it seems, reduced to one; and one would like to know if the Buddha is accompanied by representatives of other legendary characters when he begins his descent.

The fact that the image is left alone for a period of time in the Burmese rite as in the Car Festival supports the theme of initiation. With the stay in Tawadeintha heaven one is obviously far from the initiation theme of a stay in the forest; but one is not very far, in Burma at least, from the theme of a return to the womb.

42. SCOTT, op. cit., p. 331.

43. The monks are the principal beneficiaries of the counsel given during the course of the sermon just as at Puri the religious personnel profit from the fidelity of the worshippers.

44. BIGANDET, op. cit., p. 207. The Singhalese version tells how "during this period (of Wassa)...all lived together in friendship and peace; the natural secretions were not formed; they were like the inhabitants of Utturukuru. The multitude extended over thirty-six yojanas. When Budha said bana in Tawutisa, they heard his voice, and knowing whence it proceeded, they clapped their hands. By this hearing of bana many were enabled to enter the paths". (Hardy, op. cit., p. 309).

45. Op. cit., p. 494.

46. The interaction of the Buddhist theory and indigenous myths of emergence is a question which is largely beyond the scope of this article. We will not therefore touch on it here. Paul Mus refers to the theory of the Akaniṣṭha, Hōbōgirin, Tokyo, 1929, I, p. 10a. If, in India, the creation, work of the gods, is essentially a descent, the sacrifice which is the re-creation and the business of man is almost always an ascent.

47. Bulletin de l'Institut indochinois pour l'étude de l'homme, Hanoi, 1943, vol. VI, p. 326.

48. Mission Register, Dec. 1824, quoted in A. STERLING, Orissa, p. 122.

49. B.K. GHOSE, The History of Pooree, Cuttack, 1848, p. 18, quoted in W. CROOKE, HERE, vol. 7, p. 464.

50. CROOKE, loc. cit.

51. Ibid., quoting F. PARKES, Wanderings of a pilgrim in search of the Picturesque, London, 1850, II, p. 383. O'MALLEY (Gazetteer, p. 100)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

using information provided by the Manager of the temple wrote in 1908: "When the new image is ready, a certain article is taken out of the old one and placed in it by a priest of the Pati family: the latter are the traditional descendants of the Brahman Vidyāpati, who first discovered the abode of Jagannātha. The priest is blindfolded and his hands are swathed in cloth, so that he may neither see nor touch the sacred article. When he has placed it in the new image, the opening is closed by a carpenter of a certain family". The misfortune which struck the Raja of Burdwan reminds one of the blindness inflicted on whoever wanted to see the remains of Genghis-Khan (Joseph Van Oost, Au pays des Ortos (Mongolie), Paris, 1932, p. 87).

52. O'MALLEY, Op. cit., p. 105.

53. HERE, vol. 7, p. 144 (b): Consecration of images.

54. HERE, vol. 7, p. 160 (b).

55. Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism, Eng., tr, Shanghai, 1928, p. 173.

56. Ibid.

57. Op. cit., p. 214. Cf. G. TUCCI, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Rome, 1949, p. 314-316.

58. The Muria and their Ghotul, Bombay, 1947, p. 188. It is true that the Muria have been sanscritized. But who in this type of ceremony would dare attribute one detail to a popular or indigenous stratum and another to a Hinduism itself partly non-Aryan ?

59. Op. cit., p. 189.

60. Ibid., p. 190.

61. Cf. the role of the old men in other important circumstances: L. FINOT, "Recherches sur la littérature laotienne", BEFEO, vol. XVIII, fasc. 5, p. 161.

62. Barabudur, II, p. 702, and n. I.

63. HUNTER, op. cit., p. 144-145. According to O'MALLEY "the spot is marked by a block of stone and it is said that it is the place where the God Brahma came down to consecrate the images of the King Indradyumna" (op. cit., p. 296).

64. Op. cit., p. 143-144. In the terminology of Indochinese ethnology it is the "dieu du sol". Hunter refers to his work Annals of Rural Bengal, London, 1897, p. 130. Compare this passage with L. CADIERE, in Indochine; vol. I, Paris, 1929, p. 295; P. MUS, op. cit., p. 263, n. I and BEFEO, vol. XXXI, no. 1-2, p. 176; P. LEVY, BIIEH,

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

1943, vol. VI, p. 326 where the author speaks of a "real cultural and sacrificial collaboration at the moment when the principal festival of the spirits of the district is celebrated" and adds that "most of the spirits were personages reputed to be of Indonesian origin".

The religious reunion of men on the horizontal level is often accompanied by a reunion of the gods along the vertical axis: this is what we have just noted in Burma. But it happens sometimes that the earthly images of the gods are gathered together at certain rites. This has been well observed, for example, by V. ELWIN, The Muria and their Ghotul, p. 214.

These data in my view, help to clarify the Chinese facts analysed by Marcel GRANET, in Danses et légendes de la China ancienne, Paris, 1926, p. 346. See also "Jardins en miniature d'Extreme-Orient" by R.A. STEIN, BEFEO, 1942, p. 75, concerning the statues of the "sacred Mois". There is another application of this principal of reunion in Burma. It concerns the construction of a cetiya by the King of Pagan"... one Thursday, the day of the full moon in the month of Kaçon in the year 636 (1274) he completed the cetiya. And this is what he placed inside the cetiya: the picture of the seven stations (on the path towards the bodhi tree) and the representations of the eight places (in India that the Buddha had illustrated during his career), the statues of the great disciples and of the most famous followers of the Buddha; all this in pure gold, decorated with nine sorts of precious stones; finally the statues of the fifty-one kings who had reigned in the town of Pagan, those of their queens, concubines, sons and daughters and small and great ministers... "(E. HUBER, BEFEO, vol. IX, p. 647). The path which led from the palace to the cetiya was decorated so as to resemble "the paths of Indra's paradise" (loc. cit). Granet's comments on the concentration of powers in the capital, to which Stein refers, are relevant to other countries besides China. The care taken by Granet, quite justified at the time at which he was writing, to avoid any facile comparison drawn from the ethnographical documentation concerning countries other than China, had a disadvantage: certain guiding principles of Chinese civilisation, which emerge from his analyses, prove to play an important role in many other cultures, notably that of India. This does not detract from the value of his contribution to the sociology of the Far East. For the day when the synthesis of the elementary structures of the politico-religious thought of the Indo-Chinese civilisation will be written is still far off. At present it is with the greated prudence that we should consider certain data as "typically Chinese" or "typically Indian".

65. Op. cit., p. 115.

66. P. MUS, "Dèux legendes chames", in BEFEO, XXXI, 1-2, p. 146-208, passim; and S. PARANAVITANA, " The shrine of Upulvan at Devundara", in Mem. Arch. Survey of Ceylon, vol. VI, 1953, p. 47.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

67. For example, P. MUS: "La Mythologie primitive et la pensée de l'Inde", in Bull. de la Soc. Fr. de Philosophie, 37e annee, no. 3, 15 May 1937, passim.

68. Loc. cit., The images are incomplete. At the moment of their outing they are decorated. Should one see in Jagannātha a Buddha "paré" or a Maitreya ? Certain details of the legend remind one of what was said by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan Tsang on the subject of the making of the great image at Bodh-Gayā. Cf. T. WATTERS, On Yuan Chwang..., London, 1905, II, p. 116 and S. BEAL, Buddhist Records of the Western World, London, 1906, II, p. 119. Watters in turn refers to a Tibetan tradition: Geschichte des Buddhismus, tr. A. Schiefner, Saint-Petersbug, 1869, p. 18, 242, 256. We are not unaware of the interpretation of the statue of Bodh-Gayā proposed by Paul Mus. "Why is the great holy statue incomplete "? he asks. "The whole legend seems to be conceived with the intention of developing this surprising trait. One should not forget that it is the future Buddha who shut himself secretly in the sanctuary. When the door is opened, before the fixed time, there is no trace to be found of his person: there is nothing in the holy place but an image of that which was Çākyamuni and that which will be Maitreya. The incompleteness of the statue, is it not a symbol of the saviour to come rather than a Master whose role is already fulfilled ? "Le Buddha paré", in BEFEO, vol. XXVIII, 1-2, p. 121 of the off print). I do not think one should carry the comparison between certain legendary details about the making of this statue and that of the image of Jagannātha as far as to draw any major conclusions. Besides let us note that Jagannātha was not left incomplete in the same way as the great statue of Bodh-Gaya which, in the circumstances, did not lack hands or feet. But Maitreya too makes ritual outings. See, for example, J. GILMOUR, Among the Mongols, London, no date p. 319. Enough attention has perhaps not been given to these rites. R. Bleichsteiner sums up some information about them in these words: "The statue of Maitreya is solemnly paraded, placed on a car whose wheels are painted red, and the yoke in four colours, yellow, blue, red and green. The vehicle is decorated with bands of motled silk; at the four corners stand banners of victory. A high canopy surmounts it. A green striped horse or an elephant of the same colour, made of wood or paste, pull the god: behind is displayed, triumphant, the precious wishing stone. The monks taking part in the procession carry books attributed to Maitreya, candles of incense, flowers, etc. Two lamas at the head of the procession, bearing rolled-up panther skins, use these as whips to scatter the crowd and clear the path. The 'yoke' and the car are pulled by monks. Music follows. If there are khoutouktous (sic) present, they are carried in litters. Often at Ourga this festival can gather thirty thousand individuals". (L'Eglise jaune, Paris, 1937, p. 215-216). Cf. H. HASLUND, Men and Gods in Mongolia (Zayagan, London, 1935, p. 65-7.

69. Op. cit., II, p. 125.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

70. We cannot help thinking that the insertion of the arms at the level of the mouth must have had a meaning for those who made the images. To explain this feature by saying that it was due to the fantasy of a craftsman would be at the least idle and, what is more, contrary to all that we know about the primitive and medieval art of India. If we had to suggest a hypothesis, we would draw it from everything which is "royal" about the cult of Jagannātha. Let us not forget that he is a great god, the master of the world. In the reproductions of his images the arms are usually represented in two positions: raised above the head or at the level of the mouth. Would it be bold to refer to the Brahmanical texts concerning the royal consecration, and in particular to Śat. br., V, 4, 1, 15-17 and VI, 6, 3, 15 ?

71. Op. cit., p. 136.

72. The stūpa of Bhārhūt, London, 1879, p. 112; cf. The Bhilsa Topes, London, 1854, p. 353. G. d'Alviella, like Cunningham, has made the comparison with the trisula (The Migration of symbols, Westminster, 1894, p. 254).

73. Note that it is not the "ordinary" society which is reconstituted: it is an idealised, levelled society, a society which, you could say, does not exist anywhere, has never existed and never will exist for the faithful except at these extraordinary moments, the festivals. We believe too that the ascent of the god above all his worshippers is facilitated, emphasized, thanks to this levelling. From the comparative point of view, there is a wealth of iconographical material, which illustrates the ascent, to be found in H.P. L'ORANGE, Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World, Oslo, 1953.

74. Op. cit., p. 93-96.

75. JA, 1952, fasc. 3, p. 323-338.

76. The analysis which follows owes much to the lectures given by Paul Mus on La Sociologie du Śatapātha Brāhmaṇa, at the Collège de France, 1952-53. I should like to express my gratitude to this guru, while adding that I alone am responsible for the application of these ideas to the cult of Jagannātha.

77. Op. cit., I, p. 135.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

80. Apart from the absence of an inspection of the cardinal points in the documentation which describes the rites, there is truth in this analysis. One could say that Jagannātha stabilises, completes the cardinal points in dominating them.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

81. The translation is that of L. RENOU: Hymnes et prières du Veda, Paris, 1938, p. 129.

82. E. BURNOUF, Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa, vol. I, Paris, 1840, p. CXXXIV. Cf. also E. BURNOUF and M.E. JACQUET, L'Inde française, Paris, no date, II, p. 117-118.

83. The religion and philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads, London, 1925, I, p. 24. When he undertakes to study this myth, Keith speaks with less depth than usual: "The details of these stupid myths are wholly unimportant... "he writes (loc. cit., II, p. 422). Mus, for his part, writes that Prajāpati" obviously lacked popular substance: he was a ritual god, a god for the scholars. If his doctrine has had a decisive influence, as it seems to us it has, on the spiritual formation of medieval India, and if Buddhism owes much to it, this must have taken place over a long period and by a slow process: the influence of the educated class, who in taking him as their god, had above all dimly sought to give form to a philosophy. '(Barabuḍur, p. 393). This comment by Mus does not account for the success of the myth among the audience, the faithful: the educated class did not work in a vacuum. One can very well turn Mus' proposition round and ask if the legend of Prajāpati did not have fairly solid roots in popular thought. For if he was "a ritual god" and at the same time "a god of the scholars" that was already a great deal. One could describe Jagannātha in the same terms, and we have seen the role played in his worship by the peasant masses. In any case, one should not exaggerate the role of the literary class in the development of the philosophy. Rituals themselves are expressions, rich realisations of systems of thought: they represent philosophies. It is a mistake, which moreover Mus was the first to rectify, to look for the legend of Prajāpati only in the texts which mention his name. Such research results only too often in raising false problems of priority and interdependence. For the legend of Prajāpati is, in effect, only the literary expression of a certain structure of thought, a structure which can still be seen in certain rites where, as we hope to show one day, it receives one of its most powerful expressions.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Ritual Hunts

These hunts have recently been the subject of an article by Father Rahmann [1]. This author has made use of the essential documents available, and there is no question of re-examining all the materials he used [2]. His work has the merit of drawing attention to a very important set of magico-religious occurrences. The author has confined himself to putting in order the facts so as to bring out the essential aspects of the hunts, and, if he interprets his documents, he does so above all by the way he has grouped them together. Other materials can be added to those he has collected, and this will enable us to take a second look at the conclusions to which his research led him.

Father Rahmann's first conclusion is that "the ritual hunt must be understood in connection with the agricultural system of field-shifting or to be more accurate, with the firing of forests and jungles which is. an essential part of this kind of soil cultivation" [3]. On the whole, the author has limited himself to a discussion of Indian facts with some rapid excursions into South East Asia. He could have broadened the bases of his investigation and taken into consideration the Chinese documents on these agrarian practices. Although practically neglected by V. Elwin in his survey on "Shifting Cultivation throughout the World" [4], the Chinese writings on the subject present the advantage of ranging in time from several centuries before the Christian era up to the present day. These writings are not the work of professional ethnologists; nevertheless their bulk, variety, and chronological distribution do not make them insignificant. Among other data, they furnish notes on ritual hunts in ancient China. Wolfram Eberhard has given a summary of certain of these in his work on Lokal-kulturen im alten China [5]. H. Maspero has likewise drawn attention to these documents and has observed that "the winter hunt 'cheou' was carried out by firing the undergrowth, probably because it originally coincided with firing to clear the land for cultivation". He notes that "the connection between the hunt and land-clearance transpires clearly in the legend of the harnessing of lands by Yu the Great [6], and he concludes: "the fire was the main item in the land-clearing process, and it was the pre-requisite to all cultivation" [7]. Granet, for his part, has emphasized that "the tilling of the land, whether it is done with a chopper or with a plough, corresponds to clearing the undergrowth; and weeding, whether water or fire is used, aims to prevent the regrowth of natural vegetation. The work of clearing the land, which can vary in detail according to whether or not use can be made of irrigation, and which is the starting point of all agricultural work, is inaugurated with a fire ... The inventor of agriculture, Chen-nong, is a fire-god" [8]. It seems indisputable that the agrarian techniques in question have always involved the use of fire. It seems equally probable that these firings also provided the opportunity for the more or less organised slaughter of animals. But it is debatable whether ritual hunts form an integral part of these agrarian techniques.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

It is important to notice the meaning given to the expression "ritual hunt" by Father Rahmann. He notes the existence of other important hunts in the religious calendars of the populations he is studying[9], but he confines himself to a careful consideration of what he somewhere terms "the original spring hunt". Here we are faced with a methodological problem. We do not know how the author came to write his work. He seems to have been struck by the fact that the populations on which he concentrated all carry out a more or less important hunt at approximately the same time of year. So these hunts seemed to him to be of capital importance, and he took it into his head to make an institution of them. At the same time he neglects other hunting activities that look less impressive but which, in our opinion, are not irrelevant to a careful analysis of the central question. This tendency to 'institutionalise' the main subject of his research leads the author to project present-day hunts into a past for which there is, as far as I know, no evidence, and leads him to speak of the ritual hunt which the Munda "must have already carried out' in the pre- Aryan era" [10]. Since there are no pre- Aryan texts from the period in question, Sanscrit references at least, of necessity of a later date, should be given to make us acknowledge the seriousness of this hypothesis, whatever the Chinese evidence concerning the antiquity of these practices [11].

So what constitutes for us a ritual hunt ? On the one hand, like Father Rahmann, we envisage rites which have a fixed place in the agricultural calendar of the limited community; on the other, rites which automatically take place as soon as a certain situation materialises. Here are some examples of this second type of hunt. The ways in which it is carried out seem to me to throw light on an essential aspect of the hunts studied by Father Rahmann.

In Burma, among the Chins, when an important man dies, the ceremony '<u>sa ryek taw</u>', a hunting expedition, takes place. "The man who intends to go on this hunt calls attention to this fact two or three days beforehand. The preceding evening, he calls together nine men from the various families, after sending the females away from the house. When he and the nine men are gathered together - and none of them may have a wife who is expecting a child - they kill a sow ('<u>vwawk rhil</u>') which has not yet given birth. The man presiding over the ceremony pronounces a formula over the animal. Together they eat the flesh and throw a portion of it outside the village. They are not allowed to speak to anyone. At daybreak the following morning, all ten men leave the village. Then they kill a chicken and eat its flesh and that of the sow killed the previous night. They must not talk to anyone. After that, they go off into the forest where the villagers rejoin them. Then a beat is organised at which the ten men are present, nine of them carrying guns, but the '<u>kla sam pa</u>' is not allowed to carry one and is armed only with a bow, arrows and a lance. The ten men, '<u>bang tu</u>' are allowed to talk amongst themselves but not with outsiders. After the first beat, the nine men may talk to the other villagers, but the '<u>kla sam pa</u>' may not do so, and as long as the hunting party continues he must eat alone; but as soon as the hunt is over, he can talk to the others.

"Previously, this ceremony only took place in honour of great chiefs or influential men, but today when guns are rare (<u>sic</u>), it may be carried out in anyone's honour.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

"The hind leg of all game killed belongs to the person who conducts the ceremony. During the hunt, no one may talk to strangers nor visit the house of this man. They think that, if the 'sa ryek taw' does not take place, the dead man will be angry and that as a result, pigs, chickens, and mythun ('bos frontalis') will die" 12.

This document suggests a parallel with the descriptions of putting slaves to death at the death of chiefs in the Indonesian world 13. Let us confine ourselves for the moment to recording the possibility of this parallel. For other documents must be allowed to speak first.

V. Elwin, in his book The Muria and their Ghotul, observes that "when a 'gaita' (sorceror-priest) dies, his successor is not named immediately. In eastern Konagaon, although the eldest son automatically inherits the position of 'gaita', he cannot carry out his duties unless he has first had a certain recognised and official dream nominating him and authorising him to carry out his duties. In other parts of the state, a ceremonial hunt takes place before the son or brother of a deceased 'gaita' may succeed him. The whole village goes out hunting in honour of the dead man, and omens are revealed according to the animals caught. If a hare is caught, that indicates that the dead man disapproves of his son or brother and that inheritance must pass outside the family. If a male animal is caught, that indicates that the dead 'gaita' does not want any successor at all. But if a female 'sambhar', 'chital', or 'muntjac' is caught, the conclusion is that the dead 'gaita' accepts the nomination of his son or brother. If the huntsmen catch none of these animals, they fast for the whole day, do the cooking in the evening and eat outside their houses, do not sleep with their wives, and go out hunting every day for three days. If, during this time, they manage to kill one of the three female animals required, the new 'gaita' assumes his duties from that moment onwards; otherwise, they wait for one year ..." 14. So the death of a sorceror-priest can, like the death of chief, provide an opportunity for a ritual massacre. Let us recall our suggestion concerning the massacre of slaves. The objection can be made that the ritual murder of a man and of an animal are essentially different; but one will admit that these two events have in common a sacrificial killing. It is not stated why the Chin rite is carried out. Is it connected with the nomination of the heir to 'the important man' ? In any case, it is a ritual which is losing its hold. The Muria rite, on the other hand, seems to be much practised, and its meaning is clear: it is a means of obtaining the authorisation of the gods for an important magico-religious nomination.

Elsewhere, Elwin informs us that "in the Mandla district of the central provinces of India, the Gond and Baiga women sometimes dress up as men and go from village to village with lances and axes for a sort of ceremonial hunt. In each place, they catch and kill a pig, something that women are not normally allowed to do. A fertility rite is involved: this is demonstrated partly by the fact that it is done in times of shortage, and also by the songs sung at this time... This rite is called 'Stiria-raj'. This practice is likewise known among the Marias and the Murias. At Toskapel, I was told that the women gave themselves moustaches

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

with lampblack, wore 'dhoti' and turbans and marched armed, from one place to another, to sacrifice goats and pigs. Kond women also dress up as men and sacrifice chickens" [15]. What we must retain from all this is that the sacrificial roles held by the two sexes are reversed in times of shortage [16]. The risks in the womens' hunt are not so great; the animals sacrificed are domestic ones, easier to find than the wild animals which are needed in the mens' hunt, for at these times the women are allowed to commit ritual theft.

Let us now consider some documents on the Lakhers which seem to fit more exactly into the religious calendar, and so resemble more closely the facts studied by Father Rahmann. First of all, the festival 'Khangnakia' "which is in reality a sacrifice to the different "Khisong' [17] of the neighbourhood in the hope that they may grant the village general prosperity...In the evening, the 'tleuliabopa' (priest-sorceror) goes to the 'tleulia' plot of land, carrying a drum in his hand. A small gong called a 'ladaw' and a drum are hung in the 'tleulia' tree; all the young men gather round, and a ceremony called 'Ezaw' takes place. All the boys carry two pieces of fire-wood. The 'tleuliabopa' stands in the middle of the plot of land, holding a chicken, and the boys walk around him three times... The following morning ... the men who have guns and those who have none go off to kill or trap all the animals or all the birds they can find. The 'tleuliabopa' and his companion follow the villagers into the jungle and, as soon as a suitable place has been found, a shelter is erected and they invoke the 'khisong' of the neighbourhood so that they will send deer with fine antlers, wild boars, bears, tigers, and all kinds of wild animals. Two red cocks are sacrificed. Then the huntsmen scatter in the jungle and do their best to kill some game, if necessary camping in the jungle for two nights but no more. As soon as someone has shot an animal, a message is sent to the village, and those who have stayed there spread carpets on the 'tleulia' land, and spend their time drinking beer and beating gongs and drums until the huntsman the hunt has favoured returns. When they arrive at the entrance of the village, the huntsmen sing hunting songs and a few gunshots are fired. The man who has shot the game, the two men who sacrificed the red cocks, and the people bringing the meat, go to the 'tleulia' land, and the womenkind of the favoured huntsman, dressed in their most beautiful clothes, come to meet him. He gives his wife and each of his sisters a small share of the meat. The head of the animal is carried by one of the young boys, preferably the brother or a close relation of the man who killed it. A procession is formed: the bearer of the head is followed by the man who killed the animal, dressed in his best clothes and carrying his gun in his right hand and a pot of beer in his left hand; and, after him, by a crowd of women and children from his clan. Those who have received a share carry the meat and the others beat gongs and drums. The huntsman leads everyone in a dance round the 'tleulia' land three times and then puts the head at the foot of the 'tleulia' tree. After a short interval, the head is again carried round the plot of land; as before, the procession dances round it three times, after which the owner leads the procession to his house, and offers the 'Salupakia' sacrifice, and organises a drinking session in the process of which songs are sung by the boys and girls. Each house, even the poorest, must offer some kind of feast; they would feel ashamed not to have any feast at all" [18].

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

We have quoted at such length from Parry's text not only because it is interesting in itself, but also because it enables us to establish numerous structural similarities between the Lakher hunt and the events examined by Father Rahmann. The great festival of 'Khangnakia' (of which this hunt forms part) corresponds to the feast of 'Pazusata' which is observed by the Lakhers of Savang; a feast which, just like the 'Khangnakia', takes place-let us stress this point - at the end of the agricultural year as soon as the granaries have been filled. The 'Pazusata' includes saturnalian elements and is essentially a festival for young boys. Ritual theft is permitted at this time: but sexual licence is restricted to verbal expression. The whole thing comes to an end with a meal for the young men provided by the village. Only after this meal can the newly harvested rice be given to outsiders [19].

It seems that another ritual hunt takes place among the Lakhers at the time when the 'Sapahlaisapa', the village delegate, sacrifices a red cock to ensure a fruitful hunt. "The 'Sapahlaisapa' must be ceremonially pure and cannot offer this sacrifice if any one of the women in his family is pregnant or in her monthly period. The cock to be sacrificed is provided by another village. The 'Sapahlaisapa' sacrifices it outside the village enclosure, and he and his family eat the cock that has been sacrificed. A front leg (minus the shoulder) of every wild animal killed by a villager during the year is allotted to the man who provided the cock. The 'Sapahlaisapa' is nominated each year but if the sacrifice of the previous year proved effective, the same man is usually re-elected. If someone fails to pay his due to the man who provided the cock, he must give him a chicken by way of compensation. The cock sacrificed for the 'Sapahlaisapa' must be red, for the souls of wild animals are supposed to prefer red cocks, which are more beautiful than the others. On the day of the sacrifice, the whole village is 'pana' ("sacred, holy, taboo") , and all work, even spinning and weaving, is forbidden. The following day is 'aoh', ("rest, a holiday in consequence of a sacrifice, remaining within the house"), and again no work is done. The women are allowed neither to spin not to weave for animals' souls are afraid of cotton, and if someone is weaving they will not dare to enter the village. The reason why animals' souls fear cotton in this way is that since all work to do with cotton is women's work, they always connect it with women of whom they are very much afraid for, because of their monthly periods, women are always associated, in the minds of animals, with blood. On this second day, all those who own a gun go out hunting. If a quarry is found, the sacrifice is considered to have been effective. The following day is likewise 'aoh' for women in order to please the souls of the animals" [20]. This ceremony seems to have little connection with the agrarian activities of the tribe. A sacrifice is offered to the gods: a hunt verifies the consequences of this sacrifice.

Let us note that, at the moment of the Sekrengi 'genna' [21] which begins the year among the Angami Nagas, "the young men, in particular in Western Angami villages ... go out into the bush armed with pellet-bows and ... bring back numerous birds, lizards, mice, etc. which they hang on long bamboo poles erected in front of their houses. Prosperity in general and success in particular during the following year will

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

depend on the number of little birds or animals that are caught then. The village is strictly 'penna' [22] for the first five days of the 'genna'; all work is forbidden, just as it is of course forbidden to leave or enter the village..."[23]. Here again the confirming role of the hunt will be noticed. In this case, it does not serve as a check on the past; it has here a prophetic value, as is the case in the hunts with which Father Rahmann is concerned.

Some other hunts take place in India itself. Thurston observes in the Anantapur "Gazetteer" that the Telegu New Year's Day is an occasion for a pig-hunt. The Boyas are the principle organisers of the affair. "Everyone takes part in it apart from the children, the old and the sick, and since a good hunt is considered to be the best omen for the year to come, the intense state of nerves that is produced is almost ridiculous ... the groups from rival villages have from time to time exchanged a few shots instead of shooting at the animals they were pursuing" [24]. The Reddi Gonds, to whom Professor Ch. von Fürer Haimendorf has devoted an important study, do not have a ritual hunt at the time of firing their fields, but they organise a "ritual hunt" immediately after making a sacrifice to the Goddess Earth before the sowing season [25]. The Kamars have a ritual hunt "after the rains" [26] and the Coorgs have one after "the festival of arms" which follows the harvest [27].

There is nearly always an important ceremony at the time of year that interests Father Rahmann. But it does not always involve a hunt. Here, as an example, is what the Lushei Kukis do. The ceremony of 'Kongpur Shiam' ("making a big road") is supposed to ensure the likelihood of a fruitful hunt; it likewise predicts the result of the hunt. It takes place before the departure of a great hunting expedition, and also in April each year. This is what the Lusheis say about it: "As soon as it becomes dark, two men and the 'puthian' (sorceror) leave the village by the path that leads south, taking with them a small pig. After travelling a short distance, they light a fire, kill the pig, and cook the meat. They drink the 'zu', which they have brought with them in a gourd, and eat some of the pork. After a certain time, they declare that no one may pass that way; the 'puthian' sweeps clear a space in the middle of the road, places in it some ashes from the fire, and sings this song: "O animals, come; animals from lake Ri, come; animals from Champhai, come; animals from Aizawl, come; you that have white tusks, come; you that have bushy manes, come ...". Then they collect some small pebbles and put them in their sacks, and return home. When they are about to enter the chief's house, they say: "We bring the heads of men and of animals". The 'upas' ('elderly men') who are gathered together in the chief's house ask: "Are you friends or enemies" ? We are friends", they reply. Then they open the door, put the stones they have brought into a basket, and when they go in they are given some 'zu' to drink.

"They following day is 'hrilh' [28] for the whole village. Early in the morning, they go out to look at the ashes, and are supposed to be able to see in them some kinds of footprints and, in this way, to be

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

able to predict which animals will be killed at the hunt. If human footprints are seen there, it is a bad sign, for a man will be killed" 29.

Here we see that the role of this ceremony is to predict the results of the hunt that is going to follow. The ceremony is not said to have any bearing on agrarian activities. It would be interesting to have detailed information on the hunt itself. The stones brought back to the village and which, according to those concerned, represent heads, make one think of the parallel drawn by the populations studied by Rahmann between the animals taken in the hunt and the crop that will follow.

Having isolated a group of activities which he, not without reason, calls 'the ritual hunt', Father Rahmann connects to it all that is remarkable in the behaviour of the men and women 30 before and after the departure of the men for the hunt. Now, these types of behaviour appear elsewhere and at other times besides during these ritual hunts. One may even wonder if the hunt is the fundamental fact in the patterns of behaviour he has studied.

Let us explain. The hunts studied by Rahmann are important on account of their very frequency. But in our opinion they are important as means and not as ends. They indicate that several groups of people have chosen, more or less independently, the same way of asking a question. The question is "Will it be a good year" ? The Hunts formulate this question and are, as it were, divining techniques. In this context, they are only links in a much larger chain of sacrifices. For after the questioning, formulated by the hunt, comes the affirmative answer: the sacrifice in which the meat, obtained by the preparatory quest, is divided up. This scientific division deserves to be studied in depth. The men do everything in the second phase; the gods play their part in the first. But it is hardly likely that the men would be happy with a negative response to their search. Collaboration between individuals, the condition of the undergrowth at that time of the year, the firing of the undergrowth, the fact that the food reserves are at their lowest point, are so many factors that combine to compel the gods to give a positive answer. If they find no game on their first sortie, the men sometimes return to the hunt until they do find something. It is indeed, a matter of coercive divination. This need to throw the dice, to forecast the future, manifests itself frequently in other circumstances and at other times of the year. But it expresses itself in a particularly lively and costly manner at the time when the tilling of the soil foreshadows changes in the habits of the members of the community, at moments when the society as a whole is committed.

If our reading of the documents is correct, one should not simply compare Father Rahmann's documents with those describing other hunts. The people who practise the type of agriculture that he envisages do not always have this hunt, and when they have it, they do not always do it at the same period in the agrarian year. Going through different agrarian systems, one sometimes finds in place of the hunt an ox-sacrifice 31, a buffalo-sacrifice 32, a head-hunting expedition 33, a mock head-hunting expedition 34, a 'meriah' sacrifice 35, or a tug of war 36.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

I do not pretend to have hereby enumerated all the possible ways in which divinatory sacrifice can be carried out at this time of the year. I am merely set on underlining the possibility of seeing things on a broader scale and of not restricting ourselves to the simple comparison of one hunt with another. For it is always a question, even when there is no hunt, of establishing friendly relations, of renewing the district's contacts with a power outside society; and assistance from this power is deemed indispensable in subsequent agrarian processes. No one believes that this power will do on its own what is asked of it. The agrarian techniques, which also have a ritual aspect to them, are likewise indispensable. But the power, if previously invoked, courted, and made sympathetic towards the neighbourhood, is expected to increase the effectiveness of these techniques. Note that once the power has arrived, it assumes a shape, and is often eaten by the community, or distributed in the fields of those concerned, at any rate divided out again in one way or another among the people and their possessions. An observation made by Miss Cuisinier is significant in this connection. "Never", she writes about the Mu'ò'ng, "do they fail to detain for the meal all those who participated in the beat, even if there is only a solitary little peacock or a miserable young wild boar to be eaten, and there will be perhaps more than sixty people there to eat it" 37.

The spatial distribution of beliefs often oversteps linguistic, anthropological or cultural frontiers - such as 'austronesian' and 'austroasian' - constructed by ethnologists. Moreover, purely technological criteria do not always constitute an adequate point of departure for the analysis of religious occurrences. Manuals on sex have been mistaken for treatises on military strategy 38

NOTES

1. "The Ritual Spring Hunt of North Eastern and Middle India", in Anthropos, vol. 47, 1952, p. 871 - 890.

2. One can add to the documents already quoted concerning the Santals, P.O. BODDING, Santal Dictionary, Oslo, 1928 - 1936, especially volume II, p. 79 - 80, under 'dihri', and Traditions and Institutions of the Santals, Oslo, 1942; C. MUKERJHEA, The Santals, Calcutta, 1942.

3. Loc. cit., p. 888.

4. The Baiga, London, 1939, pp. 100.

5. TP, Supplement to volume XXXVII, t. I. p. 44, 65 - 66.

6. It is known that in ancient China the hunt aimed among other things to capture the essences ('wou'). "As soon as a wise ruler had learnt how to represent the symbols of all things, the people, able to recognise the sacred forces, good or bad, could go into rivers, marshlands, mountains, and forests without having to fear evil spirits". (GRANET, Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne, Paris, 1926, p. 384).

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

7. Les Religions chinoises, Paris, 195, p. 149.

8. La féodalité chinoise, Oslo, 1952, p. 61.

9. Is the "Jur Sital" mentioned by Elwin, and quoted by Father Rahmann on p. 886, the "Jur Sital" of W. CROOKE, Introduction to the popular religion and folk-lore of Northern India, London, 1894, p. 83-84 ?

10. Loc. cit., p. 880.

11. In an article, "Un ancien peuple du Penjab: les Salva", in JA. April-June, 1929, p. 311 - 354, J. Przyluski has collected an interesting set of documents on royal hunts, taken from Chinese, Sanscrit, Siamese, and Wa Sources and which he manipulates to reach conclusions to which I do not subscribe. On the whole, the Sanscrit sources give us rather little information on the customs of the people: the customs of the court and its entourage are of central importance in Sanscrit literature as they are in the preoccupations of Western archaeologists interested in India. And the facts studied by Father Rahmann are essentially popular. It may be that present-day lower class modes of behaviour are the vestiges of ancient customs of the upper classes. But, for the most part, our historical sources are too fragmentary for us to be able to make pronouncements on this point with any conviction. What, for example, is to be done with Strabon, "Geography", bk. XV, ch. I para 34 (trans. A. TARDIEU, Paris, 1880, t. III, p. 229) who informs us that"... what seems to be particular to the Musicanians is the habit of the 'Syssyties' or public meals analogous to those of Lacedemonia, and the food for which is supplied by sharing out the products of the hunt ..." ? One would think one were reading a summary of P.O. BODDING, Traditions and Institutions of the Santals, p. 125-126, to give only one example. At present, however, the Santals do not live in the area surrounding the mouths of the Indus, the region where Onesicritus, Alexander's companion in India, located the Musicanians. Paul Lévy mentioned this passage in his lectures at the E.P.H.E., 1953-1954.

12. W.R. Head, Haka Chin customs, Rangoon, 1917, p. 27-8.

13. See R. MOSS, The life after death in Oceania and the Malay Archipelago, Oxford, 1925, p. 199. Cf. Archaeological Survey of India, Annuals Reports, 1915-1916, p. 92, n. 2.

14. The Muria and their Ghotul, Oxford, 1949, p. 200.

15. Op. cit., 454. The author refers to a similar practice which occurs among the Kols. Cf. also V. ELWIN, The Baiga, London, 1939, p. 238-239, and especially W.G. ARCHER, The Dove and the Leopard, Madras, 1948, p. 165-170, with regard to "The Women's Hunt", an article that appeared for the first time in Essays in Anthropology presented to S.C. Roy, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 187. The practice of 'cross-dressing' is too vast a subject to be tackled here. In order to remain in the

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Indochinese world, let us however point out that it would be a good idea to compare the data provided by Elwin and Archer with some of the data collected by Edward H. Schafer in his study, "Ritual Exposure in Ancient China", in HJAS, vol. 14, 1951, p. 130, ss. These three authors do not reason in a structuralist perspective, and in order to evaluate their documents from this view-point, it would be necessary to have a second look at all their sources from which they inevitably quote only fragments.

16. The alternating songs, the dialogues between men and women, are only one aspect of a veritable dialectic of exchanges between the sexes.

17. Litt. "Village magnificent. An important spirit and its abode"; N.E. PARRY, The Lakhers, London, 1932, p. 572.

18. N.E. Parry, ibid., p. 441.

19. For further details about the Pazusata, see PARRY, op. cit., p. 438-441. This feast calls to mind the 'orgies' by which the agrarian year came to an end in ancient China (GRANET, Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine, Paris, 1929, p. 188-189).

20. N.E. PARRY, op. cit., p. 136-137. Parry does not specify at which time of the year the rite takes place.

21. See J.H. HUTTON, The Angami Nagas, London, 1921, p. B2-p. 3.

22. See previous note.

23. J.H. HUTTON, op. cit., 205.

24. E. THURSTON and K. RANGACHARI, Castes and tribes of Southern India, Madras, 1909, vol. I, p. 191. Cf. H.V. NANJUNDAYYA and L.K.A. IYER, The Mysore tribes and castes, Mysore, 1928, vol. II, p. 225-226.

25. Ch. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, The Reddis of the Bison Hills, London, 1945, p. 191.

26. S.C. DUBE, The Kamar, Lucknow, 1951, p. 39-40.

27. M.N. SRINIVAS, Religion and Society among the Coorgs of Southern India, Oxford, 1952, p. 62, 64, 202, 237.

28. Cf. the 'genna' of the Nagas mentioned above.

29. J. SHAKESPEARE, The Lushei-Kuki clans, London, 1912, p. 77.

30. I am leaving aside the question of the links between the hunts and the celebration of the Holi festival. All serious discussion of the problem would have to make full use of the work of J.J. MEYER, Trilogie altindischer Mächte and Feste der Vegetation, Zurich-Leipzig, 1937.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

31. The bibliography on the spring ox is considerable. For some references, see W. EBERHARD, Die lokalkulturen des Südens and Ostens, Peking, 1942, p. 175-178, and Sir J. FRASER, The Golden Bough, Spirits of the Corn and Wild, vol. II, London, 1914, p. 10-15. Historical indications concerning the evolution of the rite in Vietnam can be found in an interesting article by J. Lan, "Le riz: législation, cultes, croyances", in BAVH, Oct-Dec., 1919, p. 409, ss. Our knowledge of the rite, however, remains fragmentary. A thorough analysis of all the sources would be necessary to enable a comparison to be made between the pattern of this rite and other non-Chinese rites. There were certainly pronounced local variations. Certain forms of the rite nevertheless manifest themes common to the hunts studied by Father Rahmann. The animal, or a model of it, is treated with great respect: it is given food and drink. The theme of 'cross-dressing' is attested: "a tailor is disguised as a woman with her hair in a bun"... (L. Wieger, Rudiments, IV, Morale, Ho Kien-fou, 1905, p. 373). The theme of division is fundamental: "The ox is speedily demolished by the crowd and carried off to the homes and fields of the people. The calf inside it is taken to some family who has no sons" (J. HUTSON, "Chinese life in the Tibetan foothills", in New China Review, vol. II, Oct. 1920, No. 5, p. 470-471). It very often question of hierarchical division. See NGO-DINH-HNU , "La fête de l'ouverture du printemps à Hanoi sous les Lê postérieurs", in BIIEH, t. IV, fasc. 1-2, 1941, p. 73-81 and and P.J. DOLS, "Fêtes et usages dans la province de Kansou", in Annali Lateranensi, I, 1937, Vatican City, p. 217. The colour and shape of the ox are indicative of the fortune to follow. In these cases, the administration takes charge of drawing lots and does not leave the result either to chance or to the gods.

The comparison of the Siamese rite of exhibiting the sacred bull with the 'Vṛṣotsagara' of India is rather unsatisfactory. Should we see a Chinese influence in this case ? To tell the truth, the Siamese documents on this rite are too slight to enable serious hypotheses to be put forward. See H.G. QUARITCH WALES, Siamese State ceremonies, London, 1932, p. 295.

32. H. MASPERO, Les religions chinoises, Paris, 1950, p. 174. This festival does not take place at the same time of year as the spring hunts. But it marks the beginning of the T'ai year. "The territory of the muong is forbidden to all outsiders for three days". The animal "is divided up among the inhabitants and eaten". They ask for "a good crop, peace and prosperity, and the destruction of harmful insects". Maspero compares this rite with the 'kiao' of ancient China, a ceremony which, he says, "is conducted before all other ceremonies at the beginning of the year to mark, at the end of the winter period, the beginning of the summer period; it presages the commencement of work in the fields which is set in motion by the tilling ceremony". The rite of the spring ox is often closely related to the act of ritual ploughing. See, for example, HUTSON, loc. cit., Cf. P. LÉVY, "Le sacrifice du buffle et la prédiction du temps à Vietiane", in BIIEH, t. VI, Hanoi, 1944, p. 301-332.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

33. Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, vol. I, pt. I, Rangoon, 1900, p. 500. Among the Lolos, the hunt for mice is carried out "especially in spring" (A. LIETARD, Au Yun-nan, les Lo-lo-p'o, Munster, 1913, p. 89).

34. J.P. MILLS, The Lhota Nagas, London, 1926, p. 128-129.

35. E. THURSTON and K. RANGACHARI, Castes and tribes of Southern India, Madras, 1909, vol. III, p. 372. The victim is worshipped before being sacrificed: it is given food and drink and is adorned with flowers. The sacrifices are distributed in such a way that each head of a family is able to get hold of a share of the flesh for his fields at the sowing season. In fact, the victim seems to be considered as a kind of compass, carried into different areas in order to establish the charter of the locality each year. Cf. the role of the statues and the 'linga'; ".. a 'linga' worshipped in the capital of a kingdom great or small, indeed even in a simple village, is not an allegorical figure of God as he rules in his heaven far above. It is not Śiva, it is a Śiva, the Śiva of the country: the prosperity of the people or that of the dynasty depends on him". (P. MUS, "L'Inde vue de l'Est", Hanoi, 1934, p. 23). From time to time, portions of the sacrifice were placed on the village frontiers. During the three days following the sacrifice, silence was kept, no wood was chopped, and no outsiders welcomed. The practice of 'cross-dressing' is demonstrated in the case of a buffalo sacrifice, substitute for a man. Our knowledge of the rite is, and will remain, fragmentary. There were probably several ways in which the 'meriah' was conducted. It is a mistake always to suppose an evolution from the simple to the complex.

36. J.P. MILLS, The Rengma Nagas, London, 1937, p. 121-122 with regard to the 'Ngazu' ceremony of the Western Rengmas.

37. J. CUISINIER, Les Mu'o'ng Paris, p. 168.

38. R.H. Van Gulik, Erotic colour prints of the Ming period, Tokyo, 1951, p. 68, 109-111, 158.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

The concept of Saṃbhogakāya

In India, from the later Veda to the present day, the idea of power is expressed basically in alimentary terms. Here is an example taken from the Brāhmaṇas: "The gods and the Asuras ... were rivals. So the Asuras, in their arrogance, asked themselves: In whom can we make our offerings ? And they went constantly making their offerings in their own mouths. And the gods went making their offerings each in the mouth of another. And Prajāpati gave himself to them" [2]. The Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad informs us that "everything on this earth is, without exception, food or eater". And the same text draws attention to the following dialogue: "The gods said: 'Everything here on earth that is food you have earned for yourself with your singing; allow us to share this food'. 'Then enter into me'. 'So be it'. And, all around, from all sides, they went into him. This is why the hunger of the gods is satisfied by this food that can only be consumed through him. Likewise, his own kind take refuge in him; he is the protector of his own; he is the best, the guide, the strong one, the master, he who knows thus" [3]. Expressions such as "the king eats the people" have latterly the look of stock phrases, but they mask ancient notions of socio-juridical absorption: in their phraseology, they express customary law. One can compare references taken from texts with ethnographical documents which manifest similar ways of thinking. In India itself, here is an example of a traditional account of the creation of the world current among the Hos, a population living in Chota Nagpur. This tradition was first noted down by Colonel Tickell [4]. "When the first parents had given birth to twelve boys and twelve girls, Sing-bonga prepared a feast of buffalo meat, beef, goat meat, mutton, pork, poultry, and vegetables; and, dividing the brothers and sisters into couples, he asked them to choose the kind of food they wanted before they set out into the world. The first and second couples chose beef and buffalo meat, and they were the ancestors of the Hos. Next the Bhumij took only vegetables and became the forefathers of the Brahmins and the Ksatriyas. The others took goat's meat and fish (?), and their descendants are the Śūdras. One couple chose shell-fish, and became the Bhuiyas. Two couples took pork, and they are the ancestors of the Santals. One couple received nothing, and when the Ho saw this, they gave them their left-overs, and this couple's descendants became the Ghasi, servants in the Kol villages, and to this day are still supported by the Ho of Kolhan" [5]. It would be easy to multiply the examples of myths that explain the social role of certain groups by their qualitative allocation among themselves of a common basic diet. Let us recall a tradition of the Karens. The six ancestors of the Karens travelled together as far as a spot where the river Sittang branched out on either side of an island. There they emptied the water from the river. Long-legs placed his legs across the current to make a dam; Big-Arms thrust his arms in upright as posts; and Big-Ears placed his ear on the space in between them. Three-Teeth bit the fish, and Hollow-Stomach collected them in his lap. When they came to divide up the fish, Long-Legs wanted to have as much as he could carry on his legs. Big-Arms wanted as much as he could carry in his arms. Three-Teeth wanted as much

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

as he could hold with his teeth. Big-Ears wanted as much as he could hold on his ear. They asked Hollow-Stomach. "How much do you want" ? He replied: "I want as much as my stomach can hold". His companions replied: "All the fish put together will not fill your stomach. Why do you ask for so much" ? They quarrelled and then Tu-Ywa, Long-Legs and Big-Arms went off in one direction, while Three-Teeth, Big-Ears and Hollow-Stomach went off in another" [6]. With regard to materials concerning geographical India, one will doubtless suppose that these myths express a popular reflection of ideas originating in the Puruṣasūkta, 90th hymn of the late 10th book of the Ṛg Veda. Yet insufficient notice has been taken of the fact that these myths are likewise found among tribes little affected by the imprint of civilising India [7]. I will limit myself here to recalling the terms of a myth current among the Sema Nagas, and collected by Prof. Hutton. I am not sure whether its biblical style is due to the Nagas or to Dr. Hutton. "The story goes that long ago the Strangers, the Angamis, the Aos and the Lhotas, and we, the Semas, all had the same ancestor and the same mother, or so they say. When they (that is to say, the Strangers, the Angamis, etc) parted company, their father killed a bull and offered it to them. 'Who will eat the head' ? he asked. The Stranger, in order to become the Stranger said: 'As for the head, I will eat that'. 'Who will eat the shin' ? asked the father. The Angami, in order to become the Angami, said: 'I will eat the shin'. And then, 'Who will eat the hoof' ? said the father. The Lhota, in order to become the Lhota, said: 'I will eat it'. 'The heart', said the father, 'who will eat that' ? The Ao, in order to become the Ao said: 'I will eat it'. 'Who will eat the front leg' ? asked the father. The Sema, in order to become the Sema, said; 'I will eat it'.

"The Kolami (that is, the Stranger), because he had eaten the head, became the greatest. The Angami, because he had eaten the shin, had strong calves. The Ao, because he had eaten the heart, retains his courage even in the presence of an enemy, and when men throw their lances and shout, he calls on the name of his father and does not call on the name of his mother. The Lhota, because he had eaten the hoof, is a great traveller, they say. And we Semas, because we ate the front leg, we have agile fingers, they say, and also when hunting game we Semas are skilled at hitting them, they say, and also when waging war we are quick to kill, they say. The Strangers, the Angamis, the Lhotas, and the Aos, and we Semas, are thus descended from the same ancestor" [8]. The man tribes of Northern Indochina like-wise maintained that the French are descended from their common ancestor, the dog P'an-hou [9].

It seems to me that one cannot expound these myths in a better way than by quoting some lines written recently by Paul Mus with reference to the above-mantioned Puruṣasūkta: "This ordinal and sacramental enumeration joins and separates at the same time. It joins together those who have a share in it and excludes those who, religiously or physically, do not conform to the established model (often with ancestral connotations). It unites and classifies that is: separates again within itself those to whom it extends; and it separates thus all the more decisively because it began by apprehending man, religiously and logically, by fixing the image he is permitted to have of himself; and it does this by placing him in the type of situation where the division is to take place, a total

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

share-out, valid for all men worthy of that name for it makes them participate manifestly in a universal form" [10]. Let us note that the 'pilot-figure' who provides the reference for this "tangible scale of values" often assumes, as we have seen, an animal-form. It can even be composed in part or entirely of vegetable matter [11]. The existence of these modes of thought among the hill-men of remote areas in South-East Asia could raise the question of the anteriority of these myths in relation to the arrival of Indian culture. On the other hand, it could indicate a structure of thought common to Monsoon-Asia; but in any case it provides a new angle for explaining the relative case with which Indian culture has grafted itself onto the autochthonous cultures.

But to return to India itself, what is the Buddhist expression of these forms of thought ? It can be found in Pāli in the Aggaññasutta of the Dīgha-nikāya, and in the Mahāvastu, and in many other texts. The authors of the "Hôbôgirin" have collected together the essential textual references [12]. In order to study in depth the variations to be found in these texts, one must take into consideration other versions not mentioned in the Hôbôgirin, but which have been brought to our notice by ethnographers such as Mrs. Leslie Milne among the Palaung, [13] by Father Sangermano [14] and Sir J.G. Scott [15] among the Burmese, and by Hardy in Singhalese tradition [16]. It is difficult to evaluate to what extent these latter authors took their information from (written) canonical sources which were perhaps accessible to them in the field, with out studying both the textual and ethnographical materials at the same time. Here is a rough outline of the Buddhist version of the legend. The glorious Beings descend from the Ābhasvara where they were living on thought and joy. At this time, the sun and moon do not yet exist. Days and nights, months and seasons, are as yet unknown. The land these Beings come to, looks like a lake of honey or butter. The Beings live off the essence of this land. Those who eat a great deal of it become ugly and lose their supernatural faculties. Other substances then appear, a climbing plant, and ultimately rice. The beings consume these substances with effects that are increasingly baneful and burdening. The marvellous rice at the beginning of time, which grew on its own, [17] gives way to rice as we know it. It needs to be cultivated. The rice fields have to be divided up and their boundaries marked out. By eating this rice, the Beings become men and women. The myth recounts the origin of human settlements, explains the origin of administration and justice, made necessary because of disputes centred on those very problems of the distribution of food; it describes the election of a king and relates this king to the rulers of our time by means of a genealogical table. Commenting on the retributive theory which is implicit in the Aggaññasutta legend, Paul Mus writes: "The bodies extricate themselves from the aliment corresponding to a level of merit, and this aliment is nothing other than the expression of the force of past actions. This retributive cosmology constitutes a concrete illustration of the dogma of retribution. It puts into somewhat crude images the renowned expression of it, as formulated in the texts: that in the course of time ('...phalaṃ tass' eva bhuñjati'), the author of an act "eats its fruit" [18]. Attention can be drawn to the presence of certain elements of the Buddhist myth in the Annales du Siam translated by Notton [19]. The theme of the climbing plant can be found

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

among peoples such as the Laotians [20], and that of the miraculous rice at the birth of the world in Vietnamese and T'ai folk lore [20]. The question of whether or not the aboriginal myths precede the mythical accounts spread wide by Buddhism could be asked once more with regard to this rice-culture version of Puruṣasūkta. It is worth stressing the fact that the Buddhist version of the myth just like the "aboriginal" variants, leads up to justifying present-day foundations of authority by arguments based on food (with or without totemist connotations).

These old myths not only overlay myths that are even more ancient, and which will remain out of our reach: their origins are to be found in social systems. Are there any links between this mythology and certain rituals ? When one comes across a myth, one is tempted, perhaps wrongly, to look for a corresponding ritual. In fact, to relate myth to ritual is often completely contrary to indigenous ways of thinking. The modes of action of myth and ritual are often in opposition. Myth is only language, it gives form to the Word; it is, to use an expression of Lévi-Strauss, a meta-language. Ritual, on the other hand, would constitute a para-language [22]. It does not always need the Word to justify itself, and rarely calls directly for its sanction in such situations. Yet rites and myths often tackle the same problem, with their differing techniques. In such cases, the solutions they propose to the problem can be considered as complementary. So let us not try to relate the myths in question directly to ritual institutions for it is not our purpose here to define the problems which these two techniques aim to resolve. We should nonetheless note that from North West India down to Indonesia, in the mountains of Assam, of Burma, and of South West Yunnan, and even in central Vietnam, institutions can be found certain aspects of which recall these hierarchical divisions we are emphasising. I am referring to the Feasts of Merit. These feasts, which have been well described by Hutton, Mills, and Stevenson among others [23], are manifestations of the social level acquired by an individual in his community: his social progress stands in direct functional relation to the abundance of the alimentary gifts he has presented to his companions. This system of Feasts of Merit shows in an impressive manner how these peoples envisage the social hierarchy. The feasts provide at the same time the frame-work for a hierarchical social pyramid and the ground plan of a world-view which is also subdivided into hierarchical elements. It has even been affirmed with regard to these two systems, when they appear in Buddhist texts, that "their opposition is flagrant ... that there are here two cosmos between which one must choose" [24]. I am not very sure when and where this choice takes place. As I see it, they are two complementary explanations of the problem of existence which only conflict if they are reduced to the status of scholastic theses. Rituals would provide many other possible solutions to the faithful. But Buddhist rituals have not to date received much study: the sociology of Buddhism remains to be written.

The Feasts of Merit only rarely receive direct mythical support, and I would rather stress the similar structure of the logic of the Buddhists and the Nagas. The Nagas have perhaps never been aware of the Buddhist myth. And without an examination in depth of the literary sources, one could not maintain that the milieu in which the Buddhist myth was written knew of the practice of Feasts of Merit similar to those

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

of the Nagas of today. For my part, and from a structuralist point of view, I would be tempted to see in the present-day rites of the Nagas a sort of reversed unfolding of the Buddhist myth. The spiritual and social progress of the Naga is achieved by doing away with a level of his substance, one might even be tempted to say of a bhūmi. However, this may be, it will be noted that the Buddhist system and Naga thought have in common here the fact that they construct their cosmologies from the starting-point of the circulation of gifts. In other words, the sociologist could maintain that the Buddhists are as materialistic as the Nagas.

What is the link between the data we have been considering and the Buddhist term saṃbhogakāya ? Let us open the Barabuḍur, a book one need not apologise for quoting at length. Here is how Mus explains this term for which Edgerton's dictionary gives as primary meaning 'enjoyment body' [25]. In origin the Sambhogakāya is a communal body ... the primary meaning of the Sanscrit verb saṃbhuj was 'to eat together, to have a communal meal'. In classical Sanscrit, saṃbhoga is applicable especially to sexual pleasure, but it also indicates food; and the related words saṃbhojana, saṃbhojaka, etc. mean a banquet, the cook, etc. The idea of a collective festivity is never absent. In Pāli, saṃbhoga is a technical term designating the meal, and more broadly the communal life of monks, just as samvāsa indicates communal living. In the Vinaya, excommunication is defined by the prohibition of the saṃbhoga and the samvāsa. In the same way, in the Sanscrit Abhidharmakośa, "the teacher excludes the man guilty of patanīya (a sin entailing exclusion) from all commerce (saṃbhoga, La Vallée Poussin) with the bhikṣu" (IV, p. 97). Lastly, the Suttavibhaṅga, pācciṭiya LXIX, distinguishes between the alimentary communion (āmisaṃbhoga) and the communion in the Law (dharmasaṃbhoga). Commerce, communion, communal life, these synonymous acceptances all refer to the community, and to the participation of an individual in this community" [26]. For the philological arguments supporting this translation, I refer the reader to the main body of the text of Mus [27].

One would not expect to find in the daily meals of present-day monks an intake of food as full of significance as the prestigious feasts in which the different members of tribal hierarchies of the past and present partake together. It has not perhaps been sufficiently emphasized to what extent this mixed food, which comes from diverse sources and yet has a levelling effect, is remarkable as an Indian phenomenon. Hindu society regards the intake of mixed food with a certain repugnance, and considers such alimentary customs as characteristic of populations outside the caste system, or primitive tribes. A small myth collected by V. Elwin admirably illustrates this theory as seen by the Gonds and the Baigas. "Before Mahadev sent men to live in the world, he wanted to test them. He called a Hindu, a Gond, and a Baiga and put before them food obtained by mixing everything in the world - liquor, the blood of living creatures, the sap of bitter trees, bits of meat, the legs of frogs and red ants. When the Hindu ate the mixture, he vomited and was very ill, but the Gond and the Baiga swallowed it without difficulty and enjoyed it. Since those days, the Hindu has remained very careful with regard to his food, but the Gond and the Baiga eat anything at all" [28].

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Nevertheless, in Hindu society, there is one instance when these anti-social practices become obligatory. At Puri, in the feasts of Jagannātha, the faithful of all India partake temporarily of the mahāprasad, exceptional food that temporarily abolishes the barriers of caste and class [29]. Do we have there an indication of the importance which the communal consumption of the same food by the members of the Buddhist community must have had, long ago ? I am only suggesting a working hypothesis [30]. If it is considered in the light of the textual and ethnographical documents mentioned above, I believe that it deserves to be taken seriously.

NOTES

1. I read a paper on this topic to the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists, Cambridge, England, in August, 1954.

2. Śat. br., 5, 1, 1-2. The translation is by S. LEVI: Essai sur le sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas, Paris, 1898, p. 55 and note 5. For some references to the role of food in the Brāhmaṇas, see Marcel MAUSS, "Anna-virāj" in Mélanges Sylvain Lévi, Paris, 1911, p. 333-341.

3. 1, 4, 6, and 1, 3, 18: trans. Senart, Paris, 1934, p. 11 and 7. For the theme of food in the "Upanisads", see the index of W.RUBEN, Die Philosophen der Upanishaden, Bern, 1947, under Essen.

4. "Memoir on the Holesum (improperly called Kolehan)", in JAS Bengal (Old Series), No. 104, Calcutta, 1840, p. 694 ff. My quotations are from D.N. MAJUMDAR, The Affairs of a Tribe, Lucknow, 1950, p. 251.

5. The myth collected by Tickell continues (JASB, loc. cit., p. 798): "And so all these went and lived separately and peopled the world and multiplied exceedingly, and Sing-Bonga taught those who lived in far countries other languages and he gave people of different trades their instruments. And after this, from the Koles, from their senior house, sprung the English, who also eat of bullock's flesh. But they are the senior children and the Koles the junior".

6. Rev. F. MASON, "Religion, mythology and astronomy among the Karens", in JAS Bengal, 1865, No. 3, p. 181.

7. See "A propos de Prajāpati", in JA, 1952, fasc. 3, p. 323-338.

8. J.H. HUTTON, The Sema Nagas, London, 1921, p. 352 - 353.

9. Lieutenant-colonel BONIFACY in Etudes asiatiques, Paris, 1925, I, p. 67,

10. "Le mythe et l'histoire dans l'Inde à propos du Purushasūkta", in Hommage à Lucien Febvre, Eventail de l'histoire vivante, Paris, 1954, t. II, p. 17.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

11. The role of the ancestral gourd is too well known for me to dwell on it. J.G. SCOTT, drawing attention to one of the variations on this theme, writes: "The races of men that came out of the great gourd were sixty in number, and they were divided into four classes: those who lived on rice; those who lived on maize; those who lived on flesh; and those who lived on roots. Each had its own language and raiment and manner of living" (Mythology of all Races, Vol. XII, Indochinese Mythology, Boston, 1918, p. 292). Cf. now Colonel H. ROUX: "Quelques minorités ethniques du Nord-Indochine" (France-Asie, special issue, Jan-Feb, 1954), Limoges, 1954, p. 237, 300. Among the Man, as Bonifacy points out (loc. cit. p. 90) when the theme of the gourd is not present, one finds in its stead that of a lump of flesh. This is one of the Chinese images of chaos. See, for example Tchouang Tseu, chap. VII, trans. Wieger, Editions Cathasia, Paris, 1950, p. 269. Granet has compared the act of making openings in this lump with the manner in which the ancestral tablets are opened (Danses et Légendes de la Chine ancienne, Paris, 1926, p. 335-336, note 1). One can also think of the eyes on the Nepalese stūpas or of the T'ai method of piercing the ancestral gourd. See L. FINOT: "Recherches sur la littérature laotienne", in BEFEO, XVII, 5, p. 160. In China, the chaos-goatskin is related to the themes of the forge: it so happens that a red-hot iron is used to open the Laotian gourd. The episode of Kouen studied by Granet (Danses ..., p. 540 ff) takes place after a flood. In his lectures at the E.P.H.E. 1953-54, R.A. STEIN queried whether the seven openings, practised in the lump of flesh, should be related to the first seven days of the "Chinese" year. Houen-touen died on the seventh day. The seventh day is the day of man.

'It is tempting to compare the undivided gourd with the "block-total" and its division with the "distributed or distributive total" which Mus mentions in his article "La stance de la plénitude", in BEFEO, XLIV, fasc. 2, Hanoi, 1954.

12. Hôbôgirin, I, Tokyo, 1929, p. 10 (a). Cf. also HERE, t.1, p. 190 (a); A.H. FRANCKE, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Calcutta, 1926, II, p. 66 ff and L. PETECH, Chronicles of Ladakh, Calcutta, 1939, p. 171; A. LECLERE, Le Buddhisme au Cambodge, Paris, 1899, p. 162-171.

13. The Home of an Eastern Clan, Oxford, 1924, p. 363-364.

14. The Burmese Empire a hundred years ago as described by Father Sangermano, with an index and notes by J. Jardine, Westminster, 1893, p. 38 ff.

15. The Burman, his life and notions, London, 1910, p. 93-96.

16. R. Spence HARDY, A Manual of Buddhism, London, 1880, p. 66 ff; Legends and theories of the Buddhists, London, 1866, p. 16.

17. See E. LAMOTTE, Traité de la grande vertu de Sagesse, Louvain, 1949, t. II, p. 871, Note 2.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

18. Barabudur, II, Hanoi, 1935, p. 715.

19. C. NOTTON, Les Annales du Siam, I, Paris, 1938, p. 88 ff.

20. L. FINOT in BEFEO, XVII, 5, p. 161.

21. E. BOIS, "A propos de la légende du grain de riz", in Bulletin de l' Institut indochinois pour l'étude de l'homme, t, VI, Hanoi, 1943, p. 339; H, MASPERO, Les religions chinoises, Paris,1950,p.158,and J. CUISINIER, Les Mu'o'ng, Paris, 1949, p. 560, which refers to a legend recounted in the Ngoc-lac. The Lepchas of Sikkim have the same theme: "The people of Mayel consist of seven brothers each with their own name and each patron of some sort of grain. These seven brothers are the progenitors and ancestors and guardians of the Lepchas ... In the country of Mayel, crops grow a hundred times as big as here and it is from that country that the seeds of our present crop originate". (G. GORER, Himalayan Village, London, 1938, p. 236). Cf. C. HANSON, The Kachins, Rangoon, 1913, p. 128; C. GILHODES, The Kachins, religion and mythology, Calcutta, 1922, p. 29-32, and the Laotian ritual act: Paul LEVY in BIIEH, t. VI, 1943, p. 326. Sylvain LEVI (Le Népal, II, Paris, 1905, p. 51) mentions the "grains of 'prehistoric' rice preserved at Pinta-vihâra, which are as big as nutmegs".

22. See L'Annuaire 1954-1955, EPHE, "Section des sciences religieuses", p. 26-27.

23. I intend to deal with the question of these feasts in depth later; so I will not burden this note with bibliographical references.

24. La Lumière sur les Six Voies, Tableau de la transmigration bouddhique d'après des sources Sanskrites, pali, tibétaines et chinoises en majeure partie inédites, Paris, 1939, I, p. XXVII.

25. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, New Haven, 1953, p. 580.

26. Barabudur, avant-propos, p. * 264.

27. Barabudur, II, p. 648 ff; J. GONDA, Sanskrit in Indonesia, Nagpur, 1952, p. 331, writes; "A Christian 'church' or 'parish' is nowadays called, in Javanese, a pasamuwan; the word which also denotes 'a company, a meeting or conference' and formerly, in addition, 'feast or festival', is a derivative (Jav. pa-an) of semuwa, 'assemblage, association, corporation'; in old Javanese the word often meant 'a multitude'".

28. V. ELWIN, Tribal Myths of Middle India, Madras, 1949, p. 322.

29. See Juggernaut reconstruit, in JA, 1953, fasc. 4, p. 494-496.

30. For a reaction of monks when faced with varied food, see Jan JAWORSKI, "La Section de la Nourriture dans le Vinaya des Mahīsāsaka", in RO, VII, Lwów, 1931, p. 57-58.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

The Cloistering of Villages

An article by A. Leclère, "Les Pnongs, peuple sauvage de l'Indochine"[1] contains one of the first comprehensive views of the behaviour we want to examine. This article draws attention to the "taboo-system of the peoples of Polynesia" which, the author maintains, "is familiar to all or nearly all the savages of Southern Indochina. The Sdang, the Bahnar, and the Kontu", he continues, "called it 'dieng', the Kaseng 'deng', the Sue 'tan', the Tareng 'ko', the Charay 'kom', the Halang or Salang 'mân', the Boloven 'rang', while the Pnongs gave it the name 'véal'. This interdiction, which concerns a whole village, is proclaimed by the headman, by the village notables, or by a woman claiming to be inspired. It can last for three days. During these three days, no one in the village can have any contact with the outside world, can accept nothing and can give nothing. Husbands do not make love to their wives; and young men make no effort to seek out their girl-friends. The people live in silence, almost without speaking to each other. Illness is normally the cause of the 'véal': an epidemic which is ravaging the land and which they want to protect themselves against by a kind of withdrawal. A 'véal' village indicates its state of prohibition by blocking the footpath with a bundle of brushwood, behind which a post can be found with either a pumpkin or a branch attached to it. Those who, sometimes coming from far away, come across this sign on their way to a village, retrace their footsteps, turn away in order to go back home or else to camp at a great distance from the village, and wait for the 'véal' to end. The violation of the 'véal' by a man from another village can lead to war; consequently, the 'véal' is always a solemn prohibition which all Pnongs respect... If the 'véal' is broken, the ancestors discuss the matter and avenge themselves, the 'Brah'[2] causes death...". As he indicates in a footnote, Leclère had foreseen the possibility of drawing a parallel between this prohibition-system and similar occurrences in "the north-east of Burma", where, he tells us, "the taboo is called 'khang'". Leclère does not give exact references, but it seems that, when he wrote these lines, he was thinking of T.H. Lewin's Wild Races of South Eastern India, and in particular of a passage dealing with the "Toungtha". The passage reads as follows: "The practice of putting a village in quarantine, or 'khang' as they call it, is universal among these people at the time of an epidemic. The inauguration and proclamation of the quarantine is conducted with a certain ceremony. A sacrifice is offered, and the village is enclosed by a freshly-woven white thread, and everywhere people sweep and clean; houses and doorways are decorated with small green branches. A great deal of importance is attached to observing the quarantine. Generally speaking, it lasts for three days, and during this time no one can enter the village. I knew of several killings that were the result of a stubborn determination on the part of certain individuals to violate the 'khang'"[3]. If Leclère, following the fashion of his age, was wrong to want to explain happenings in Indochina by employing a term he went to the Southern seas to find, he nonetheless was perspicacious enough to suspect the wide distribution of the practices he was describing.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Hutton Webster was to devote an important section of his investigation, Rest Days [4], to the examination of prohibitions of this kind; and he returned to the question once more in an article in the "Hastings Encyclopaedia" [5]. Here is what he wrote: "All through Polynesia, in Indonesia, and in certain areas of South East Asia, there is, or at least until recently there was, a considerable body of communal rest-days whose character seems to have been entirely prophylactic and protective. In this part of the world, periods of abstention and inactivity are imposed at times of unusual and therefore crucial events, such as an outbreak of fire, an epidemic, an earthquake, or death; at the changing phases of the moon; at the end of the previous year or at the beginning of the New Year; at a time dedicated to driving out spirits and demons, or to coincide with important enterprises like the outbreak of war, the sowing of seed and harvest-time, or the celebration of a solemn religious ceremony. In each case, the behaviour is about the same; the community submits to a certain number of prohibitions that impose inactivity, fasting, and continence on those concerned". Later in this article, we will corroborate his remark concerning the similarity [6] between the rituals in question by quoting documents that are more recent than those that were at Webster's disposal. For the moment, let us note that this author seems to have been tempted to explain the wide distribution of the facts he was studying by a prudent theory of diffusion: "The close resemblance between these 'sabbatical observances' in the South East of Asia, Indonesia and Polynesia, lends credibility to the hypothesis that suggests that we are faced with a custom that has gradually been spread from its Asiatic home across the Indian archipelago, and from there to the islands of the Pacific. But one cannot deduce from this that the ideas responsible in this part of the world for the taboo-day are localized and are of limited application. On the contrary, they form the basis for a wide range of social phenomena" [7].

Webster seems to have been the researcher who has contributed the most to the creation of a balanced view on the question of the wide distribution of these practices in the South East of Asia. In 1928, however, Milton Katz published an article in The American Anthropologist, entitled "Genna in South East Asia" [8], which also deserves to be mentioned. Talking about the prohibitions current among the Nagas of Assam, Katz points out that: "'Kenna' and 'penna' are strange and characteristic forms of taboo. The first is a kind of quarantine, the second a period of enforced holidaying. Both the first and the second can be declared for a village, a clan, a family, or an individual. No one may leave the village that is 'kenna', and outsiders are forbidden entry, since trading and conversation between villagers and outsiders are suspended". Later in the article, he maintains that "a theoretical calculation of behavioural patterns that would take into account every significant detail of the 'kenna' or 'penna' found in one or other of the tribes of South East Asia, would give us a total of 187 items, a total which could then be divided into a certain number of categories..... These items of behaviour are to be found, within the Mon-Khmer peoples, among the Khasis in the West, and among the Pnongs, the Bahnars and the Moïs in the East; within the Tibeto-Burmans, among the Nagas, the Lushei-Kukis, the Chins, and the Kachins; among the Karens; in northern Tonkin, among some groups

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

of Man and Thai - the Man Cuoc, the Man La Tien and the Patengs among the former, and the Muong, among the latter..." But he continues: "With regard to the populations which live in French Indochina, there is little mention in the inadequate and scattered notes of anything more than the existence of 'kenna' and 'penna'". The author is led to the, to him, "manifest" conclusion: the 'kenna-penna' forms evolved among the Mon-Khmer 9.

Unfortunately, the only book on French Indochina of that period which is quoted by Katz is that of Father Dourisbourne: Les Sauvages Bahnars. It is therefore difficult to take Katz's theoretical constructions seriously, for, since they lack supporting evidence, they are not based on data that can be verified. Incidentally, some notes on the ethnography of Indochina have been published since 1928 which Katz could not have known about at the time he was writing. By calling attention to these notes, and by adding them to materials which already date back a long way but which did not find a place in Webster's analyses, one can, I think, make a useful contribution to bringing up to date a file in which much still remains unclear. In order not to lengthen these notes unreasonably, and because, in spite of everything, convenience requires one to stop somewhere, I will not take into account here documents relating to Melanesia and Polynesia, I will concern myself above all with communal prohibitions, and I will begin with a description of the Nyepi in Bali 10 given by the painter, Miguel Covarrubias.

"Once a year", he writes, "at the spring equinox, each community organises a general driving-out of demons; they chase them out of the village with magic curses and the whole population becomes very excited. This event is followed by a day of absolute calm and all activity is suspended... The 'Nyepi', which takes its name from this day, marks the New Year and the arrival of spring, the end of the rainy season during which period the earth itself is said to be ill and feverish. They believe that at that moment, Yama, the lord of hell, is sweeping the demons out of hell and that they fall onto Bali: a belief which makes the purification of the whole island absolutely necessary. Great activity can be seen everywhere in Bali at that time, and during those days preceding the 'Nyepi' everyone busies himself constructing altars for the offerings and scaffoldings for the priests at the village crossroads. Since it is forbidden to do any cooking on the day of the 'Nyepi', the food for the following day is prepared the previous evening, and there are processions all over the island to lead the gods down to the sea for their symbolic bath. The festival lasts for two days: the 'metjaru', the day of the great propitiary offerings, and the 'Nyepi', or the day of silence". "This latter day is supposed to be a day of absolute calm on which it is forbidden to light fires, to have sexual intercourse, or to do work of any kind. No one moves about on the roads and foreign vehicles are only allowed to drive through a town after receiving special permission and paying a heavy fine. In the majority of villages in Bali, the people are forbidden to leave their houses, especially in the north of the island where the prohibitions are closely observed. In Dan Pasar, no one is allowed to light a cigarette, but the villagers pay each other visits as they normally do on festival days.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Games of tug-of-war are organised for the young; in Kaliungun, teams of boys pull against teams of girls until one of the teams wins. In Sesetan, on the other hand, a yelling crowd of boys lines up in front of a group of girls; the boys charge as if in a football match and capture a girl who must then be freed by her girl-friends in a general free-for-all" [11]. Goris and Dronkers, who have recently published excellent photographs of the 'Nyepi' tell us: "Sacrifices for the evil spirits are placed in the market places and at all the exits from every town and village. The sacrificial animals face the four winds: those of yellow colouring (in fact a calf) for the demons of the West; white ones (duck or chicken) for those of the East; red ones (a dog) for the demons of the South; and balck ones (a goat) for the evil spirits of the North" [12]. Goris observes: "After the solemn sacrifice has come to an end, some members of the 'dessa' (some of the villagers, elderly men) are sprinkled with holy water. These men must keep watch during the day of the 'menyepi' (sic) so that no one shows himself in the streets, nor lights a fire or a lamp. This restriction is equally applicable to strangers; they too have to pay a fine if they break this law" [13]. In this Hindu setting, therefore, we find styles of behaviour very similar to the behaviour in South Indochina, studied by Leclère. Hindu influences have resulted in a systematisation of the rites; instead of a single sacrifice the blood of which was scattered in the village of Lewin, we find sacrifices adapted to the cardinal points, a systematisation which has moreover undergone varied yet related developments in Chinese civilisation. The opposition between the sexes within the temporarily isolated group manifests itself here by battles that are games, whereas, in Leclère's sparse notes, contact with the opposite sex is avoided.

In his book synthesising data on Sumatra, E.M. Loeb draws attention to Neumann's research on the taboo-system among the Karo [14]. Among the terms used by this tribe", 'rebu' corresponds most closely to the Polynesian taboo. 'Rebu' is the isolation wherein an individual or an object is placed, either because of the sanctity of this person or object, or because of his or its impurity. Contact with an object that is 'rebu' would be a religious desecration and would bring disaster. The persons or objects in this state of 'rebu' are isolated for fear that they might be contaminated by something unhallowed ... A building that has just been constructed is 'rebu' during the first seven days. No stranger may enter the village, and the inhabitants are not allowed to have any contact with the outside world. A town is also cut off from all contact with the outside world at the time of an epidemic. A barricade of draconia leaves is constructed, and wooden images with weapons in their hands drive away the 'Begu' of the disease ... If a death takes place, the whole village is 'rebu' for a whole day and no work is done in the fields. At the death of a chief, the taboo period runs for several days". Loeb does not mention a regular communal 'rebu' and the examples quoted seem to apply to occasional ceremonies. Yet Loeb speaks elsewhere of the 'punen' in the island of Mentawei. "The 'punen'", he writes, "is a celebration at which all the members of the village, men, women, and children, are present. It lasts for ... a long time and sometimes takes years ... pigs and chickens are sacrificed at that time... the priest organises the 'punen' and is assisted by one or two fortune-tellers. According to

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Hansen, the islanders of Mentawei are in a state of 'punen' including the taboo that this involves, for six months in the year. During the period of the 'punen', the village is isolated and all work in the fields is forbidden... For the inauguration of the ceremony, all participants wash their hair and put on their festival clothes. Strangers are forbidden to enter the village". It would be helpful to have more precise information on these rites, for the hermit-like isolation of a village for such a long time must give rise to some interesting aspects: how it is supplied with provisions, and so on. As a matter of fact, the terms 'regular' or 'occasional' that one might be tempted to use to classify the different prohibition-systems could not easily be applied in the case of the 'punen'. For the state of 'non-punen', if the expression be allowed, would be the exception to the norm.

Attention has rarely been drawn to the existence of rites of this kind in Malaysia itself. I.H.N. Evans has provided the following notes on the subject. "Bela Kampong", he writes, "is an annual ceremony conducted by the Malays of the Endau, and, I believe, in other areas of the country as well, to avoid misfortunes and illnesses... The ceremony is completely pagan and the more orthodox Malays do not regard it favourable". Three Dayaks from Borneo, who accompanied the author at the time of his visit to Kampong Piangsu on the river Endau in 1917, caused the ceremony to be put off because they were hunting birds and mammals, activities which, the author explains, are taboo during the ceremony. One may, however, wonder if it was not simply the presence of the author that prevented the rite from being carried out. Here is the information (concerning the rite) that he was able to obtain: "According to ancient practice, at the time of celebrating the Bela Kampong, the village is taboo for five days by order of the 'pawang'; and, during this tims, strangers must not enter it and the inhabitants themselves must not kill animals, gather coconuts or leaves, leave the village, plough their fields, use abusive language, or make loud noises - for example, by beating gongs like they do at weddings ... The day chosen for the rite depends on the 'pawang's dreams. The signs that indicate that a village is taboo are the scraps of white material attached to ropes at the places where people bathe. Sometimes these ropes are stretched from one bank of a river to the other ... It seems that the aim of the local ceremony was to make the spirits of the earth sympathetic to them and to win their assistance against encroaching misfortunes, rather than to drive away evil and malevolent supernatural forces. Rites of this latter kind are practised to some extent everywhere in the Malayan world at the time of epidemics, when villages are also subjected to a taboo lasting seven days, and boats are put into the water to carry the evil spirits away ... It seems that at the time of the Bela Kampong, the 'pawang' goes round the village to receive offerings of food from each inhabitant, and towards the evening of the third day he places these or hangs them up in the jungle and invokes the spirits to protect the village for the year to come..." [16]. If this ceremony takes place each year, the author unfortunately does not tell us the exact moment at which the 'pawang' begins to interpret the omens he finds in his dreams.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

A reference to Indochina that Katz could have quoted and which seems to have escaped Webster as well, is furnished by H. Maître in his large book, full of disorganised material and rich in personal experience, Les jungles moï [17]. He speaks of a Mnong house which "is under an interdict as is shown by the cluster of leaves attached to the door. This prohibition affecting a village or a hut, very frequent in the Mnong region, is", he continues, "brought about by a great number of events. It lasts for seven days for occurrences related to men (confinement for pregnancy, illness, etc), three days for those caused by animals (when a sow, a cow, or a buffalo gives birth), and one night for the fields (sowing-, or harvest-time, etc). When the village is prohibited - 'uer' in Mnong - the natives remain at home, are allowed neither to leave the village nor to take in strangers, and the latter must not under any pretext violate the prohibition governing hamlet or hut". In a footnote, the author informs us that among the Rhades "the interdiction is called 'kom': it is applicable only in two particular and well-defined cases. The first occurs each year at the end of the dry season at the time of the first storms; this is the 'kom ngin" ('warding off the wind'): earthenware jars are placed on the road that leads from the village to the water-source; from which custom the other name given to the festival is derived, 'mnam kpe elan ea', meaning literally 'to drink from the earthenware jar on the road from the water'; a chicken is killed and Ai-De - the supreme spirit - is invoked to keep away the great wind that rages on the plateau throughout the dry season, and to make the rains fall. Throughout this ceremony, the place of sacrifice is forbidden to outsiders. The other ceremony is the 'kom buh' ('warding off danger in the sowing season'); it takes place the day before the sowing; the earthenware jar is offered up in the Chief's house and a chicken is killed. Throughout the ceremony, the village is a prohibited area. But apart from these two cases, the Rhade villages and huts are never prohibited for other reasons, and confinements, illnesses, and other natural phenomena follow their normal course without causing the life of the hamlet to be suspended, as is the case among the Mnongs". Maître adds that "as all warding off rites- 'uer' - involve the prohibition of the village or hut where they take place, the same word is used to indicate both cause and effect, and the prohibited village has become the 'uer' village, that is, literally, "the village where a warding-off rite is taking place". The same is true in the various Moï tribes where the word is different, but where the meaning is absolutely identical. It is 'kom' in Rhade, 'uer' in Mnong [18], 'dieng' in Bahnar".

In his research on Les Populations moï du Darlac H. Besnard had already pointed out that at the time of smallpox and cholera epidemics, "the villages infected are held in strict quarantine by their neighbours, and moreover they themselves put a sign at the entrance indicating that entry is forbidden : a head of an owl or a monkey carved out of wood, placed on a stick" [19].

P. Guilleminet, in his excellent Contumier de la tribu bahnar des Sedang et des Jarai de la province du Kontum, observes that in 'certain circumstances (the day after a burial, confinement for birth, a festival in the village, etc), whether for a group or for an individual, 'roheng'[20]

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

ritual and temporary abstention from speech and action is obligatory. Elsewhere, he points out: "Access to certain places is forbidden: 1. in all circumstances to the individuals in question (they cannot, for example, use the water source of a village other than their own); 2. access to certain places is forbidden in certain circumstances to the individuals in question (when a woman has just had a baby, only the members of her family and that of her husband may go into the house; when a village has been burnt down or when an epidemic is raging there, outsiders cannot enter the village). When an individual breaks the prohibition imposed on him, he puts himself in the debt of the guardian spirits of the village; it is up to him and him alone to regain their favour" [21]. As for the Stiengs, Th. Gerber informs us that "the village is a prohibited area; a) for seven days after it has been rebuilt, and no outsider is allowed to enter it. Similarly, for seven days after its inauguration, it is forbidden to bring earthenware jars filled with alcohol or with paddy, pestle, mortar, or winnowing baskets into the village. For seven days, no cooking may be done except beneath the house, and the consumption within the house of certain vegetables and meat other than chicken and pork is prohibited; b) during the reconstruction of the 'break-back' traps ('loh chu dam'). All the men of the village sleep in the forest at this time, and only go back into the village once their task is completed; c) for three days after the confinement of a woman, or after a buffalo or a sow has given birth, (this custom is no longer practised except in certain remote areas). When entry into a village is forbidden, this must be indicated by a cord barring the entrance ('rang choi'), to which a handful of leaves from a tree ('jong la') has been fixed" [22].

To return to the Rhadé tribe which Maître had told us something about, here is a passage drawn from the Recueil des coutumes rhadées du Darlac by L. Sabatier and D. Automarchi, who provides us with fuller information. "At certain periods, in years when death is a common occurrence, when it is very hot (and there are epidemics), the village is under prohibition so that the inhabitants may be in good health and their minds at rest".

"The signs 'kung' are placed (on the paths which enter the village) to prevent outsiders from going into the village and upsetting the peace of mind of the inhabitants.

"All paths are marked: either ropes are stretched across with rattan circles hanging from them, or thorny branches are placed in piles. If an outsider forces his way through these barriers, everything he is carrying will be confiscated, he will be physically seized and detained in the village throughout the prohibition period, whether it a question of a prohibition for the traps or for the consumption of beef or buffalo meat, as long as the period does not exceed three days and three nights. As soon as the thorny branches and the rattan barriers have been removed, as soon as the paths have been opened, his freedom and his belongings will be returned. But for having been ignorant, for having forced his way in without thinking, without wondering if what he was doing was allowed or not - for that he will have to pay a heavy fine; for an important prohibition, he will have to pay a heavier fine" [23].

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

In the preceding documents, we have had the opportunity to establish that the exclusion of outsiders from a village coincides with the expulsion of spirits that bring disease. It is thus interesting to call attention to the following observation made by Father Cadière. "One day, I asked why the village of Vinh-an in the Quang-tri had set up an altar on the seashore and why offerings were being made there. Someone replied: '<u>tua khach</u>', the village "is showing out the strangers". And the actual reason for this was that there were numerous cases of smallpox in the village. Today, '<u>khach</u>' designates both strangers and the demons of smallpox; but there was a time when this word designated only strangers and, in this particular case, foreigners arriving by sea, the pirates who pillaged, burned, and laid waste the village. Today, the pirates have disappeared, but smallpox decimates the population; the spirits that bring smallpox are also 'strangers'" [24].

With regard to the Reungao, Father Kemlin long ago provided very specific information concerning the prohibitions in force when work begins. Here is an example. "Throughout the '<u>cham muih</u>', that is as long as the consultation of the birds lasts, there are several '<u>ding</u>' or taboos to which the villagers must conform. The main one is that, on pain of '<u>ho'dri</u>', they are forbidden to discuss business or marriage, to dispose of goods or accept them into the home, to lend any object or even to pay a debt to a neighbour, and lastly, ... to go to the store-house to renew their provision of rice; all of these occupations are absolutely incompatible with the commencement of work. It is also forbidden to allow outsiders into one's home and to talk to them before leaving for the '<u>muih</u>', for fear that the birds of the air and the beasts of the forests might destroy the rice. Finally, during the '<u>hi ho' drpa</u>', the heads of the households must avoid lying down in their homes during the day for fear that later the fire too might also fall asleep and might refuse to burn up the chopped wood. Similarly, the women may neither weave nor spin during those days, so that the flame does not tend to become thin like a thread of cotton" [25].

The temporary isolation of the village is indicated among numerous groups in northern Indochina by the setting up of the '<u>ta-le</u>'. "Those who come to the village", wrote Colonel H. Roux recently on the subject of the Tsa khmu", must, at the sight of the '<u>ta-le</u>', at once turn back. If someone from outside urgently needs to contact one of the villagers, he will be allowed to speak to him outside the confines of the village, but he will not under any circumstances be allowed to cross over the surrounding barrier formed by the '<u>ta-le</u>'s. A horseman who arrives at the village and notices the '<u>ta-le</u>'s must immediately dismount ... The prohibition on crossing the village boundaries lasts one or two days, according to the decision of the '<u>mo</u>'. During this period, all sewing, weaving, going to collect wood in the forest, or to draw water, is forbidden. If there is too great a shortage of water, the necessary quantity can be drawn, but the vessels (which are bamboo tubes) should be carried under the arms and not in a basket on the back as is usually the case. After putting the '<u>ta-le</u>' in place, the village inhabitants then make their way to the '<u>mo</u>'s' hut. Between the altar to Rôi Gang and the roof, they hang a bamboo in a horizontal position and attach to

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

it some bottles of alcohol and some banana leaves. The 'mo' pours some drops of alcohol into these leaves while he repeats the prayer ... then he adds: "All the other kings with the exception of you Rôi Gang, have already been served. Those bottles of alcohol there are yours. Come and take them. When you have eased your hunger and thirst, you must come and protect us. You will give us wealth, happiness, and fine crops. You will never come to torment us". When the prayer is finished, everyone gathers round the altar of Rôi Gang. They eat and drink, but are not allowed to sing and, during the entire time that the 'ta-le' prohibition is in force, they must all remain silent ..." [26].

In his book on the Lamet, K. Izikowitz observed that "when an Indian ox (gaur) is caught, a great feast takes place that lasts ten days. Gongs are struck and the people sing and drink wine and alcohol. Pieces of meat, some 'lap' and some soup, are offered to the 'phi pran' ... Throughout the feast, no-one is allowed to enter or leave the village, and the paths that are considered to be the most dangerous are those by which the ox has been carried from the trap in the forest. They are afraid of meeting 'phi ketin' (the spirit of the ox). On feast-days, gates are set up at the village entrance, and 'talae' are installed there along with wooden sabres and other magic signs to prevent the spirit of the ox from entering the village" [27].

In the T'ai blancs de Phong-tha, Silvestre has drawn attention to the ceremonies that pracede the commencement of work in the fields. "During these ceremonies, two of the wives of the 'ly truong' and eight wives of village leaders went into a house built specially each year inside the enclosure of the 'ly truong'. Using banana leaves, they make 150-200 small parcels of rice intended for the guardian spirits of the village. These parcels are placed on trays which are stacked one on top of the other. The task is barely completed when the chief sorceress arrives at about three or four O'clock in the afternoon and offers the spirits the food which has just been prepared in the manner described above. Then the whole village begins feasting and the festival lasts until ten O'clock the following morning. Each inhabitant must receive a piece of meat. Those who have a good reason for not being able to attend the feast have their portions brought to them by friends. Thereafter no one may leave the village for three days; like-wise no one may carry an umbrella, ride a horse, cut grass, chop wood, or turn the soil. In a word, it is forbidden both to move and to work. One can be sure that these prohibitions are followed to the letter by the T'ai" [28].

The 'ta leo' is frequently employed in Laos, as much among the t'ai peoples [29] as among others. Colanna has observed that, during certain festivals of the Kha in the province of Saravane "the villages are 'kalam', and for three days the entrances to them, decorated with a 'tha-leo' or a bamboo star placed on a post, are forbidden to outsiders" [30]. N. Besnard, for his part, adds the following information concerning "the custom of the Dieng in Lower Laos, known in a great number of tribes by the name of Calam": "When a village moves to another location after its land has been exhausted, all the surrounding villages are warned. No one may cross the road on which the villagers are

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

travelling in a procession on their way to their new domicile. The unfortunate man who strays onto the path they are following would seriously offend the guardian spirit, and he would pay for his involuntary error with his freedom. If a woman goes into confinement for pregnancy in the village, the fact is recorded at the village entrance; no stranger to the tribe may enter the enclosure ... A Kha cannot take the initiative of accomplishing an act never performed hitherto unless the village council first decides whether the 'calam' should be declared" [31]. In smallpox epidemics, the Karens of Siam construct barriers around their villages and thereby forbid access to outsiders."... It is not that it is a formidable barrier, a child could knock it down, but those who pass by it recognise and respect what it implies. It (the barrier) is made of light chains of bamboo; bamboo spears are placed on the chains with their points facing outwards; there are also guns carved roughly in wood, the very realistic likeness of a man, and rough figures of an elephant and a tiger, likewise in wood" [32].

I do not know whether prohibitions of the communal category are widely distributed in Cambodia. Mrs. Porée-Maspero in her Moeurs et coutumes des Khmers [33] draws attention to an observation of Dr. Pannetier concerning the "sacred prohibition ('tem, tro-nam')" which is a still very vigorous institution in the country, and its violation - as is the case in the Polynesian taboo which it resembles in a strange way - always involves supernatural punishments". But perhaps we will find more precise information on this subject in Mrs. Maspero's thesis. Nonetheless we can compare a passage from Leclère's Cambodge, Fêtes civiles et religieuses [34] with what Mgr. Pallegoix says about the ceremonies at the end of the 4th month in Siam [35].

The 'genna' of the Nagas are too well-known for me to dwell upon them here. Webster had already provided bibliographical notes to which Katz did not add supplementary details [36]. At the moment that Katz's article quoted above appeared, W. Shaw's Notes on the Thadou Kukis were published in Calcutta.

This author speaks of ceremonies, undertaken by the 'Thempu' on behalf of the village, one of which is called 'aikam', at times of cholera epidemics, etc. A gibbon is cut in two and its blood is mixed with other ingredients. All the villagers come to anoint their bodies with the mixture, which they also taste. "The anointing is generally done on the forehead. The 'Thempu' then takes what is left of the mixture and the two halves of the gibbon, and places them on the framework of the arch that has been constructed on the main path at a short distance from the village. One half of the monkey is put on each side of the path. When the mixture is being prepared and at the moment when the monkey is killed, the 'Thempu' calls on Pathen to protect the village from the epidemic, and the whole village is then taboo for 15 days. No one may enter or leave the village, and on the actual day of the ceremony the cocks must not crow in the village; so they are carried out into the jungle, out of hearing for one day, and are kept in baskets. They say that a gibbon dies every full moon; and that is why they are not heard making a noise from the old until the new moon. Death is the price exacted from them

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

by Pathen in order that they may then remain quiet. Consequently, the Thadou Kukis think that the monkey is the best animal to sacrifice when they are threatened by fatal epidemics". Another village ceremony calls for the killing of a dog with a view to driving away evil spirits, for the latter detest dogs. On this occasion, the taboo period only lasts for five days but the other details of the rites are the same. There are also taboos of three days and of one day. After returning from a successful head-hunting expedition, a taboo of three days is imposed [37].

Since then, N.E. Parry, in his book on the Lakhers, has likewise observed that, at the time of some of the most important sacrifices like the Khisongbo, the Tleuliabo, the Tlaraipasi, the Nangtha Hawkei and others, it is '<u>ana</u>' for outsiders to enter the village during the '<u>aoh</u>', for their presence would be prejudicial to the sacrifice. An outsider who enters the village during the '<u>aoh</u>' must pay a fine equivalent to the value of the animal sacrificed, so that the sacrifice can be offered over again. Outsiders who infringe these '<u>aoh's</u>' have no excuse, for the entrances to the village are always closed at that time; leafy branches are piled up on the path to show that an '<u>aoh</u>' is in force, and a detour is constructed to enable travellers to avoid going through the village. It is the chief and the elders who decide on the execution of a '<u>pana</u>' or an '<u>aoh</u>' in a village. If it involves a family sacrifice, once the master of the house has decided to offer up a sacrifice, a '<u>pana</u>' or an '<u>aoh</u>' follows automatically. A '<u>pana</u>' may result either from a state of holiness or from one of impurity [38].

I have already called attention here to the fact that, at the time of certain sacrifices among the T'ai, as at the '<u>meriah</u>' sacrifice practised in the past in India, the territory of the community concerned is forbidden to outsiders [39]. As a matter of fact, it seems to me that the limits of investigation of the complex with which we are concerned should be extended so as to take into account occurrences in India.

Very recently, with reference to a visit to a Dafla village, Prof. Haimendorf observed "Only four men were waiting to welcome us at the entrance of Haja and not one of them showed that he was pleased to see us. There was no rice-beer and they told us that the village was closed to all outsiders; a sacrificial rite was in progress and no one was allowed to enter the village before the rite was over" [40]. Nor is this just one isolated occurrence in India. Enthoven, for example, had already drawn attention to the following occurrences at times of epidemics in the Bombay region. "A little chariot made of mango-tree wood is built and worshipped. Five earthenware jars filled with '<u>ghi</u>', milk, alcohol, cow's urine and water, are placed in the chariot with a small goat. The chariot is then moved out of the Maruti village temple and taken out of the village by the main gate; then it is taken round the village, going from right to left. As the chariot is moving along, a freshly woven thread of cotton is passed along and the contents of the five jars in the chariot are poured out in a thin stream onto the ground. When the chariot has finished its round, that is when it has returned to the village gate by which it left, the goat is buried alive. Then the chariot is put outside the village enclosure and abandoned, for they

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

believe that illness will be abandoned along with it. After taking the chariot to the neighbouring village, a charmed peg is sometimes driven into the ground, near the village boundary, to prevent the illness from returning [41]. The day on which this ceremony is carried out, no member of the village may leave and outsiders are not allowed to enter" [42]. One finds compulsory rest-days in several regions in India [43]. But the events that tally best with what we have already seen in South East Asia are those reported by Prof. Haimendorf, and concern the Raj Gonds of Adilabad. Here is what he writes: "On the first day of sowing, no one may leave the village before midday and even outsiders are requested to stay there until that time; if necessary, they are given a hearty meal to prevent them from going away. But, if their departure is urgent, and they simply will not wait, they have to leave behind them a ring or some object from among their personal belongings to serve as it were as a symbol of their active presence in the village. The reason for this custom is that, on the morning when all the rites and prayers aim to invoke and entice the forces of fertility and wealth, so that they may be bound firmly to the village land, no one should be allowed to leave the village for fear that he might take away with him part of the precious virtue that enables the crops to ripen" [44]. According to the author, this argument is based on the same ideas as those manifested among the Angami Nagas, where nothing which belongs to the First Sower (the village official who is the first to undertake the sowing of rice and millet) is allowed to be taken out of the village during the period from sowing to harvesting [45]. Nor, despite the difference in context, can one help thinking of the 'village treasure' of the Yao of the Kouangtoung, [46] or of the New Year ceremony among the "Lahu" of the Shan states, where "no outsider is allowed to enter the village, and if by chance one happens to be there he is detained until the feast is over and is then sent away deprived of everything he has, even of his clothes" [47].

The documents I have gathered together are certainly incomplete; many other notes could be added to the file as research proceeds [48]. I would be the first to stress the uneven quality, the weakness even, of the documentation to which I have had to draw attention. But we will never manage to see more clearly into the jungle of South East Asian rituals, if we do not make use of the materials which exist and which are often buried in books written by travellers, and administrators and generally considered unworthy of the attention of scientific ethnology. Nor only are our sources fragmentary, but we are, on the whole, in possession of modern data only. It is quite out of the question for us to project these documents into the past, and by so doing, to undertake a real historical analysis of these rituals. Nonetheless, as we have seen, it is the diffusionist explanations that have found favour in the eyes of the researchers who were not content simply to work out a balanced account of the information, but wanted to interpret the documents. Even if one refuses to construct diffusionist theories starting from groupings such as the Mon-Khmer, one can nevertheless be tempted to enquire whether the practices in question might not be the result of Indian or Chinese influence. For India and China, we do at least possess materials that date back a long way. In ancient and medieval India, the pradakṣiṇā is one of the best known ritual acts in religious life. The isolating power of this rite, which aims to separate, from the unhallowed world, an area

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

delimited by some kind of enclosing action, is well known. Sometimes the area is closed off by an individual walking round it, but this can be done equally well by putting in place a thread, or by the more or less temporary construction of a barrier made of wood, brick, stone, etc. Yet if the word pradakṣinā is certainly a Sanskrit word, we should not automatically interpret each ceremony of ritual separation in the geographical area we are concerned with as an indication of the religious inspiration of India. Of course, starting from the centres of civilisation established in these regions very early on, the influence of Indian rituals has travelled far into the South East Asian hinterland. I am not, however, set on either asserting or denying the anteriority of local rituals in relation to rituals of Indian inspiration. We are dealing here with problems which cannot be resolved in a satisfactory manner in the present state of research. But the similarity between the autochthonous (or apparently authochthonous) rituals and the 'Indian' rituals, suggests a certain similarity of structure between the thought processes of the indigenous populations and those of the new arrivals. This hypothesis would help to explain the relative ease with which Indian aspects have been grafted onto cultures of locally longer standing.

With regard to the possible influence of rites of Chinese origin, whoever has read Granet will have been struck by the evident parallel between our modern documents and certain descriptions of village behaviour in ancient China at the time of the 'dead-season'. "The men live confined in their villages throughout the period of the 'dead-season'. At that time, everything must be closed for fear of pestilences ('Li Ki', trans, COUVREUR, I, 399), in particular the gates of towns and market-settlements. Just as the expulsion of the banished Monsters ends with the opening of the gates, so the great expulsion of winter is brought to a close by offerings made at the gates. New weapons and renewed power are then given to the spirits of the Gates" [49]. As Granet has pointed out, the texts he quotes from refer to a climate where the 'dead-season' is characterised by drought, when the hardness of the ground does not land itself to farm work. Even if it is definite that the customs of certain tribes of Northern Indochina have undergone Chinese influence, it would nevertheless be unwarranted to explain the distribution of current behaviour in very different climates by diffusionist theories that recall early occurrences in China [50].

The fact that it may be possible to elucidate grosso modo rites studied in South East Asian country-sides by referring to Indian or Chinese cultural influence does not, in my opinion, lead the way towards fruitful research.

If points of chronological reference are lacking, is it possible to fit our documents into a scheme of theoretical evolution ? As nothing indicates that the societies in question have followed a similar evolutionary path, this methodology would also have to be discarded. Nevertheless, I would like in this context to call attention to a theoretical observation made by P. Mus that merits consideration. In order to give an account of the past of the people of the 'monsoon civilisation', starting from ancient Sanskrit and Chinese texts (that is, from a set of

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

documents quite different from our own), he has been led to postulate a 'stage' in the development of the society, in the following terms. "At this stage, each group still defines the extent of its right to the land by the extent of the area it covers; but this definition is incomplete, for it does not take into account the fact that the neighbouring communities surrounding it, by their peripheral right, affect the right of each component when taken as the centre. At that time, each group keeps its gods on its soil; it propitiates them by offering collective worship, and the gods owe it to the group to be hostile towards outsiders of which the group would not approve: the chief always has a magic power over the produce of the soil, but only within a delimited territory; "sympathetic" magic is always in force, but only within the sacred limits ... The essential fact is that each community has a limited area at its disposal and that, by making its contact with this the fundament of its religion, its forms of worship imply not only a contract made with the soil, but a recognition of the contracts of its neighbours..." [51]. Definitions of this kind are always somewhat like caricatures because of their simple brevity. In order to elaborate on this definition of a cultural stage, let us bear in mind that we would be obliged to make reference to ethnographic material collected in the last hundred years, and it is significant that Mus, who knew the ethnographic literature in question well, did not think fit in this instance to add to his text the bibliographical references with which he was so generous elsewhere. Despite the glib criticisms that can be made about this passage, I acknowledge that in it Mus seems to me to have outlined a truth that is theoretically profound; for it is only when one postulates in some such terms an unknown stage in the past, that one is able to account for the later flowering of systems of five and nine components in the Indochinese world (the central unit, plus 4/8 surrounding components); and by 'system' I mean social structures as well as religious ones [52]. This state of things, if it ever really existed, has with the increase in the number of social units, disintegrated, both from the social and from the religious point of view. Yet the memory of it has remained anchored in the mythology of peoples whose social organisation no longer reflects these concepts. Mus' formulas concerning the 'demarcation' of the society seem to be in need of closer analysis. For if the limits of the societies' social life were at one time the actual limits of their physical extension, then it seems to me that the religious borders of the same societies were given, very early on, a completely different definition. By that I am not referring simply to the use of holy places, which were at one and the same time channels of communication between the community and its gods, and symbolic models of the whole village world. Our documents show us that it is the limits of the communal living-area which act as frontiers for the society when it decides to bind itself together more tightly. A vacuum is created round about in order to underscore the importance of the centre; the role of demographic density in magical-religious problems is too often neglected [52]. If any fundamental idea stands out in the documents we have gathered together, it is this: the artificial man-made world is what marks the boundaries of the communal religious unit. It is important to establish this fact, for the theories of Indian and Chinese origin concerning royal cities have thus found architectual expressions in South East Asian countrysides where, at crucial moments, peasants and hill-men shut themselves in, in man-made, built-up areas. One should not, in

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

consequence, study the towns of '<u>cakravartin</u>' as merely expressions of ideas that were, of necessity, imported from abroad. Such a way of thinking is still much too widespread. The caricature-like view of History which tries to persuade us that every fact of Asian civilisation is a remote consequence of some ideas elaborated early on in the Mesopotamian world, these ideas having since gone round the Eurasian world with varying delays - local delays being due to the inactivity of modern archaeologists or to the obstinacy of the indigenous people in not wanting to accept importations - this view is still far too prevalent. The Moī, like the Brahmin, has a civilisation that deserves to be studied on an equal footing.

We have seen that the unit that is so carefully isolated, at the time of prohibitions of the communal kind, is often a village. At this point, we rejoin one of the preoccupations of the American School of Social Anthropology. Numerous recent studies, particularly those collected in the volume "Village India" 54, tackle the problem of deciding whether certain villages that have been studied can effectively be considered as 'isolates'. Reading over our documents one gets the impression that these villagers have long since asked themselves the same question and that they have managed to find a practical answer. They have concluded in favour of the usefulness of temporary isolation from the religious point of view, and at the same time have decided that, from a social point of view, it is impossible to prolong this isolation indefinitely. For our documents (and I think that so far insufficient light has been shed on this point) draw attention to periods when no exchange takes place, when words, women, goods and gifts no longer circulate along the normal social networks. If, momentarily, nothing is offered, this is because nothing is accepted: the population is assembled in a closed universe. One can say without fear of exaggeration that it is just this closing up of the system at certain moments that allows it to be opened at others. As Granet has explained so well, with reference to other social practices: "Nothing has any value except if it forms part of a treasure, that is, if it is alternately hidden and displayed (jewellery and women), although hoarding and ostentation are hazardous things to do (laying bets on fate)"55. So, to rephrase our previous formula: in a world of reciprocal rights, when a vacuum is created in the centre, plenitude emerges around it.

The preceding observations could serve as a commentary on some remarks by P. Gourou dealing with the Vietnamese village. "At the same time as it affords protection against external dangers, the hedge is a sort of sacred boundary to the village community, the sign of its individuality and of its independance. When, in a turbulent period, a village has taken part in a disturbance or has given asylum to rebels, the first punishment inflicted on it is to force it to cut down its hedge of bamboos. It is a serious blow to its pride, a mark of ignominy. The village thus feels as embarassed as a man who has been stripped of his clothes and abandoned in the middle of a crowd of clothed people" 56.

The lack of reliable information on what happens inside the village during its closed period makes it difficult to analyse these documents fully. Moreover researchers have, until now, scarcely mentioned

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

indigenous theories to account for these practices. So I would be pleased if the juxtaposition of these documents in a limited space were to provoke sociologists to formulate better-documented analyses. In any case, probings of this kind into South East Asian ethnographic materials seem to me imperative. In this part of the world, the study of rituals has not yet been taken as far as that of monuments or of texts.

NOTES

1. Offprint from the "Mémoires de la Société d'ethnographie" (Section orientale et américaine), Paris, 1898, p. 200-202.

2. "... a sort of supreme spirit, of God, who is neither male nor female..." (LECLERE, op. cit., p. 170).

3. Wild races of South Eastern India, London, 1970, p. 196-197. This kind of prohibition is also in force at the time of village-construction and rice-cultivation. As Webster has observed (Rest Days, Chicago, 1916, p. 55, quoting R.F. St. Andrew St. John in the JAI, 1873, II, p. 240) the Toungthas seem already to have practised these rituals when they lived in the Arakan Hills in lower Burma.

4. Rest Days, a Study in Early Law and Morality, Chicago, 1916.

5. HERE, vol. 10, Edinburgh, 1918, p. 886.

6. With reference to China, H. Maspero observed that at times of serious epidemics "in many regions, in particular in the Tche-li, the New Year festivals are celebrated over again whatever time of year it is: the spirits are thus misled into believing that the year is over, that a new year has started and that the period fixed for the duration of the illness is past, so that it will soon cease". ("Mythologie de la chine moderne", in Mythologie asiatique illustrée, Paris, 1928, p. 338). In the light of the documents collected by Webster, one may wonder whether this 'administrative' explanation is always valid even for China.

7. HERE, loc. cit.; cf. Rest Days, p. 58-61.

8. "American Anthropologist", vol. 30, 1928, p. 580-601.

9. The author takes some Naga expressions as the point of departure for his analysis. For my part, while recognising the frequency of cloistering rites among the Nagas, I do not see why research into these phenomena should be centred on Naga terminology. According to Katz, present-day Nagas cannot be held responsible for the initial diffusion of the behavioural patterns in question, across S.E. Asia. The only significance of counting themes starting with the Naga institutions - in my opinion it is even questionable whether the additive method has any relevance here whatever - is if one can fit the results into a larger network of data. This author's

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

arguments are not based simply on ritual occurrences, but also take into account linguistic data, prehistoric research and some vestiges of megalithic cults. In spite of Heine-Geldern's syntheses, more intelligent than convincing, in the fields of the prehistory and proto-history of this part of the world, it still seems to me premature to want to link sets of rituals with cultural units that remain unspecific. Looking at it from another point of view, linguistic notes of the kind presented by J.H. HUTTON in N.E. PARRY, The Lakhers, p. 356, n.1, merely illustrate the preconceived ideas of the author and his interest in certain languages as opposed to others. It is because some authors want at all costs to find the origin of the Polynesian taboo somewhere on the mainland of S.E. Asia that they plunge headlong into such extravagant hypotheses.

10. Island of Bali, London, 1937, p. 277-282.

11. This description is supported in more recent works, for example, G. BATESON and M. MEAD, Balinese Character, New York, 1942, p. 1-3; J. BELO, Bali Temple Festival, New York Gluckstadt, 1953, p. 3. For spirited comments on the difference between the Balinese 'nyepi' and the Christian 'nyepi' which keeps the Christians in Bali busy during the holy week before Easter, see B.W.G. GRAMBERG in J.L. SWELLENGREBEL, Kerk en Tempel op Bali, La Haye, 1948, p. 270.

12. R. GORIS and P.L. DRONKERS, Bali, Atlas Kebudajaan, published by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, photo no. 416, commentary, p. 196.

13. Bali, services religieux et ceremonies, Batavia, without date or paging.

14. Sumatra, its history and people, Vienna, 1935, p. 94.

15. Op. cit., p. 173, 174. The author compares the 'punen' of the rest-days among the Bantok Igorots with the 'genna' of the Nagas in Assam. Cf. "American Anthropologist", vol. 30, 1928, p. 415-419.

16. Studies in Religion, Folklore and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula, Cambridge, 1923, p. 279-280. The opposition between boys and girls, conspicuous in other regions during the prohibition (in Borneo, among the Nagas) is not manifest here, but this source is one of the most fragmentary. There is also evidence for this opposition in China and Indochina, for example at the time of the spring festivals, but the communal prohibitions that we are investigating do not seem to me to be derived from these festivals.

17. Paris, 1912, p. 128. Cf. H. MAITRE, Les regions moi sudindochinois-Paris, 1909, p. 125, and BAUDESSON, Aux pays des superstitions et des rites, Paris, 1932, p. 44.

18. J. DOURNES, Dictionnaire srê (koho)-français, Saigon, 1950, p. 263, under 'wer'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

19. BEFEO, 1907, p. 79-80.

20. Hanoi, 1952, t. I, p. 192.

21. Op. cit., I, p. 207.

22. Th. GERBER, "Coutumier stieng", in BEFEO, XLV, I, p. 258.

23. Hanoi, 1940, p. 115 (b). Cf. A. MAURICE, "Trois fêtes agraires rhadé", in BEFEO, XLV, I, p. 191 and 201.

24. Croyances et pratiques religieuses des Vietnamiens, vol. II, Paris, 1955, p. 150. As for Burma, P.K. Benedict maintains that the Burmese word 'nat' was derived from a root the meaning of which was 'illness' and that its original meaning must have been 'demon of illness'. He continues: "It should be noted that Burmish-Loloish *nat, *ne *ni is in general a malevolent god" (HJAS, vol. 4, I, 1939, p. 288-229 and note 28).

25. "Rites agraires des Reungao", in BEFEO, 1909, p. 501. I only quote this passage by way of a sample, for I do not think it is useful to call attention to each passage relating to the prohibitions with which we are concerned in the scrupulously careful (and easy to find) works of this admirable researcher. Cf., for instance, his "Alliances chez les Reungao", in BEFEO, 1917, p. 60.

26. H. ROUX, "Quelque minorites ethniques du Nord-Indochine", in "France-Asie", Saigon, 1954, p. 335. For the 'da leng', see p. 199, note 1; cf. the 'mashang' of the Kachins (O. HANSON, A dictionary of the Kachin Language, Rangoon, 1954, p. 437-438).

27. K.G. IZIKOWITZ, Lamet, hill peasants in French Indochina, Etnologiska Studier 17, Göteborg, 1951, p. 198. Cf. also p. 54, 103 and esp. p. 219.

28. Les T'ai blancs de Phong-tho, in BEFEO, XVIII, 4, p. 50. Despite what Katz says, the custom of temporarily prohibiting access to different T'ai groups seems to me to be sufficiently generalized. See M. ABADIE, Les races du Haut-Tonkin, Paris, 1924, p. 72; L. DE LAJONQUIERE, Ethnographie du Tonkin septentrional, Paris, 1906, p. 200; cf. ABADIE, op. cit., p. 91. P. Lévy, in his study of the buffalo sacrifice in Vientiane, Laos, speaks of the 'ta leo', placed at the approaches to the T'ai villages and quarters, in order to prohibit access at festival times or in the case of mourning, epidemics, etc. "This 'ta leo'", he say, "is no longer found at Vientiane because there is no longer a prohibition that governs the quest involved, but the memory of it is vivid and all the other T'ai groups of Northern Indochina still observe these practices which ... correspond to religious concepts expressed by myths". (BIIEH, 1943, Hanoi, p. 306 no. 1). For the black T'ai, see the notes and photos by Robert to which Lévy refers. Cf. also H. Maître, Les regions moï ..., Paris, 1909, p. 32; C. Bock, Temples and Elephants, The narrative of a journey through Upper Siam and Lao,

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

London, 1884, p. 266-267; G.B. McFarland, Thai-English Dictionary, Stanford, 1954, p. 271 (b) under cha- te-oh. For the 'wa leo' of the Mu'o'ng, see J. CUISINIER, Les Mu'o'ng, Paris, 1948, p. 405, 508.

29. H. DEYDIER, Lokapâla, Paris, 1954, p. 79-80, 116, 190; for a case of illness, a reference can be found in Le Tour du Monde, 1885,2,p.6.

30. M. COLANNA, "Monographie de la Province de Saravane", in Bulletin Des Amis du Laos, No. 2, June, 1938, p. 100.

31. N. BERNARD, "Les Khas, peuple inculte du Laos francais", offprint from Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive, Paris, No. 2, 1904, p. 94-95.

32. J.P. ANDERSEN, "Some Notes about the Karens in Siam", in JSS, vol. XVII, part II, Bangkok, 1923, p. 54.

33. Paris, 1938, p. 203.

34. Paris, 1916, p. 59-66, Cf. "the fencing of strong poles which will have symbolic value", in R. BARADAT, "Les Samre ou Pear", in BEFEO, XLI, p. 70-72.

35. Description du royanme thai ou Siam, Paris, 1854, t. I, p. 252.

36. The following are the references to "gennas" in the indices of the well-known monographs: J.H. HUTTON, The Angami Nagas, London, 1921, p. 460, s.v. Kenna and p. 469, s.v. Penna; J.H. HUTTON, The Sema Nagas, London, 1921, p. 455-456; J.P. MILLS, The Lhota Nagas, London, 1922, p. 240-241; J.P. MILLS, The Ao Nagas, London, 1926, p. 461; J.P. MILLS, The Rengma Nagas, London, 1937, p. 341.

37. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. XXIV, 1928, n. 1, p. 76.

38. N.E. PARRY, The Lakhers, London, 1932, p. 357.

39. "Quelques remarques les chasses rituelles de l'Inde du Nord-Est et du Centre", p. 114, n. 1. and 4.

40. Himalayan Barbary, London, 1955, p. 105.

41. I admit that I do not understand clearly the exact sequence of the actions.

42. R.E. ENTHOVEN, The Folklore of Bombay, Oxford, 1924, p. 260-261. See also p. 306, 308, 311. Cf. W. CROOKE, The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India, I, Westminster, 1896, p. 103; Natives of Northern India, London, 1907, p. 259; V. ELWIN, The Muria and their Ghotul, Bombay, 1947, p. 218-219; Bondo Highlander, Bombay, 1950, p. 183, 195; The Baiga, London, 1939, p. 377-378, 401, ff; E. THURSTON, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, I, Madras, 1909, p. 197.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

43. For instance H. WEBSTER, Taboo, a Sociological Study, London, 1942, p. 296.

44. Ch. von FURER-HAIMENDORF, The Raj Gonds of Adilabad, London, 1948, p. 341.

45. The author refers to the article written in collaboration with J.P. MILLS, "The Sacred Founder's Kin among the Eastern Angami Nagas", in Anthropos, XXXI, 1936, p. 932. Cf. the references to the Karens in H. WEBSTER, Rest Days, p. 56-57.

46. H. STUBEL, "The Yao of the Province of Kuang-tung" in Monumenta Serica, 1936, 2, p. 377-378.

47. Sir J.G. SCOTT in JRAS, 1911, p. 931, writes "No language but Lahu may be spoken while the Waw-long lasts". This remark is one of many that draw attention to the temporary linguistic isolation of a group. Father Gorè has also observed, in his description of the New Year rites among the Mossos: "throughout the ceremony, it is forbidden to speak any other language than Mosso" ("Notes sur les marches tibétaines du Sseu-tch' ouan et du Yun-nan" in BEFEO, XIII, p. 384). This isolation varies in degree and does not seem to find expression in limited cultural units. Perhaps the Malays "language of camphor" (W.W. SKEAT and C.E. BLAGDEN, Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, London, 1906, vol. I, p. 235 and volume II, p. 414-426) and the "flowery language" of the Chams (E. AYMONIER and A. CABATON, Dictionaire cam-francais, Paris, 1906, p. IX-X) are simply further expressions of the same principle. Cf. my article on "Chasses rituelles" in JA, 1955, I, p. 104-105.

48. I have found no trace of communal prohibitions, of the kind we are concerned with, among the Mongols; cf., however, A. MOSTAERT, in Central Asiatic Journal vol. II, No. 4, p. 293 et D. SCHRODER, in Anthropos, 47, No. 1-2, 1952, p. 40.

49. Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne, Paris, 1926, p. 332. Nor must one forget that in China, until very recently, the doors of houses were shut on New Year's eve: "Before the domestic ceremonies begin, pine branches and sesame stalks are spread out like a carpet in the outer court-yard, with the idea that they will make a noise under the footsteps of the evil spirit that might risk coming in there, and will thus serve as a warning... During the hour of the tiger, that is between 3 and 5 o'clock in the morning (on New Year's Day), before the cock crows, cyprus and pine branches are once more spread out in the courtyard, and the head of the family goes out to break the seals of the door, so carefully closed the previous evening" (J.BREDON and I. MITROPHANOW The Moon Year, Shanghai, 1927, p. 91 and 103) compare this custom with that of closing and breaking open the seals of officials in administrative offices before and after the New Year. One obviously cannot generalise these facts concerning the closing of doors to the whole of China. Cf. W. EBERHARD, Chinese Festivals, New York, 1952, p. 26-32. Ceremonies of this kind are, of course, very frequent in S.E. Asia. Cf. for

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

instance J.H. TELFORD, "Animism in Kentung State" in Journal of the Burma Research Society, vol. XXVII, II, 1937, p. 178 with regard to the Homi Zwe Ma Law.

50. GRANET, op. cit., p. 332, n. 2.

51. L'Inde vue de l'Est, Hanoi, 1934, p. 17. See p. II: "the quest for a contact, and for an intermediary to establish it, between a divinity, which cannot by itself be apprehended, and a person or a limited community which, by its limits, will define what the god will be for it: that is what I believe to be at the root of religious speculations".

52. See, for instance, P.E. JOSSELIN DE JONG , Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan, Sociopolitical Structure in Indonesia, Leiden, 1951, p. 106, 150, with reference to F. van OSSENBRUGGEN "De oorsprong van het Javaanse begrip Montjpat".

53. Cf. "Juggernaut reconstruit", in JA, 1953, 4, p. 497, n. 1.

54. "Studies in the Little Community" edited by McKim Marriott, The American Anthropological Association, vol. 57, no. 3, Part 2, Memoir 83, June 1955.

55. La féodalité chinoise, Oslo, 1952, p. 194.

56. Quoted in P. MUS, Vietnam, Sociologie d'une guerre, Paris, 1952, 1952, p. 21.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

A South-East Asia Centric Concept of History

Professor D.G.E. Hall in his recent work, A History of South East Asia, remarks that European scholars concerned with these regions feel today that their previous approach to their subject 'has been too much influenced by certain preoccupations inherent in their own training and outlook' (pp. vi-vii). He quotes with approval de Casparis' criticism of a 'Europe-centric' approach to these studies and notes that 'Indian writers who, largely through the work of the French and the Dutch, have come to discover Greater India may be accused of an India-centric approach'. Professor Hall himself has sought 'first and foremost to present South East Asia historically as an area worthy of consideration in its own right, and not merely when brought into contact with China, India or the West'. I do not intend to discuss here the extent to which Professor Hall has succeeded in his task [1]. His book, despite its popular character, marks a date in our studies in as much as it is the first full-scale History of South East Asia in the English language. Nor shall I venture into the Indonesian field where authorities such as Berg and Bosch still come into conflict. My intention is rather to discuss in general terms the methodological implications of the point raised by Professor Hall in so far as the field of Mainland South East Asian studies is concerned.

Those interested in the civilization of China, like those interested in present-day tribal cosmologies, know that self-centred conceptions of history are as common in the Far East as in the West and are certainly as ancient as these latter. Cultural superiority in all latitudes is defined primarily by disparaging comparisons with the habits of each civilization's barbarians. But the first point to be made is that the kind of overall vision of South East Asian history implicit in Professor Hall's book is itself a product of Western thinking, although not entirely based on results achieved by Western scholars. The scope of the book is even wider than that of G. Coedès who, concerned primarily with the États hindouisés, used more of his sources at first-hand but could leave out of account those regions of South East Asia which have come within the orbit of Chinese civilization or, for one reason or another, have been little touched by Indian influences. It is interesting to note that Professor Hall, in his own words 'came to realise the need for some such book' as his 'through contacts with students and teachers in South East Asia'. In fact there exists no book by a South East Asian national, either in a local or a foreign language, which covers the field. This fact is obviously not the consequence of a lack of general education among South East Asians. But without taking into account the admitted competence of, for instance, many other Chinese and Vietnamese lettrés, one could cite the recent work of Le Thanh Khoi, Vietnam, Histoire et Civilisation, I (Paris, 1955), as an indication that historical thinking in these regions is, at the present day, primarily nationalist. There are social, political, and economic reasons in plenty to explain this state of affairs, and my remark is in no way intended as a criticism of what is in many respects a very able, useful, and above all well-written, book.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

In the west we have certainly tended to write South East Asian history as we see our own. Perhaps I should say as we used to see our own. For we are still, in the South East Asian field, concerned primarily with the correct determination of genealogies in the ruling families, with the life of the court and the palace the tenure of office and the policies of the important ministers of state, the aesthetic or museum value of religious architecture and other works of art, the big battles, etc [2]. The structure of society, of the very many different societies in the past and present of South East Asia, has not been analysed. In this respect one must deplore the fact that the second volume of J. Auboyer, R. Grousset et J. Buhot, L'Asie orientale des origines au XVe siècle, (Paris, 1941), has not been published. This second volume, as announced by Grousset in his Preface to the first volume, was to have studied 'the evolution of the society, the institutions and the beliefs of the peoples of Eastern Asia'. Henri Maspero died in a concentration camp in the last war, and P. Mus, his co-author in the project, has now other preoccupations, and has given up any idea of finishing the book. Archaeological interest having been centred mainly up to now on town-sites, we know deplorably little about life in the past of South East Asia, outside of its towns and large villages. And until we know more of present-day conditions in the country-areas all serious social or economic analysis of mainland South East Asia as a whole, seems frankly impossible. It goes without saying that in the West only those who have written, whether on manuscript, fibre, wood, or stone, or have erected durable monuments, occupy an important place in the history books. Wide therefore as the scope of Professor Hall's book may seem to be, it still to all practical purposes leaves out of account considerable groups of population which have undoubtedly played an important role in the succession of events in South East Asia for they still live and have their being there today. Because, in the past, they have not made use of solid building materials nor employed writing to extol their exploits or explain their political and religious systems, we tend to ignore their history. But the fact that it is very difficult for us to get to know their history does not mean that they have none. For instance, the historical role of the Karens, Kachins, Chins, Nagas, Kukis, and other groups of more or less illiterate inhabitants of North Burma was, during the 1939-45 war, of considerable importance. It is not mere supposition to state that the role of the mountain-dwellers in the past history of these regions has been underestimated. In this respect, it is encouraging to note that both Le Thanh Khôi and J. Chesneaux, in his book Contribution à l'Histoire de la nation vietnamienne (Paris, 1955), stress the importance of the part played by various mountain-groups at various stages in Vietnamese history. Of course we can only judge the importance of the mountaineers' activities by what we can infer from what others have written about them. And by 'others' in this context one almost always means the authors of Chinese texts. In this respect I may say that the Notes to the edition of the text of Marco Polo which Pelliot published in conjunction with Professor A.C. Moule shortly before the war are going to be published in English in Paris. I have so far read three or four hundred pages before they go to press. They take the form of an index arranged alphabetically. I have not yet got beyond the letter C, but can assure all interested that they represent, as one would expect, a capital contribution to our subject and, what is important in the present context, fully exploit the Chinese

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

sources. To give only one example the note s.v. Cowry is seventy typewritten pages in length.

The Western overall historical perspective is, I have suggested, bound to remain incomplete; and Easterners have not yet felt the necessity of adopting it in their own writings. This is scarcely surprising. For South East Asia has little or no cultural unity. If the various Indian and Chinese politico-religious systems brought in from outside have given to far-flung regions a semblance of unity in techniques of worship and political organization, the theories advanced by Western scholars to explain the cultural formation of South East Asia, based as they are on the isolation of certain cultural factors such as language, tool-forms, folklore, methods of cultivation, etc., are remarkable for their ingenuity rather than their solidity and are far from providing us with the picture of a unique culture-pattern. There are undoubted similarities in the ways of living of the many present-day Indonesian groups throughout the area but these groups are not yet sufficiently well known to enable us to generalize on the matter. Once the conclusions of the research-work undertaken by G. Condominas since 1948 among certain groups of Moï will have become public we shall have a better knowledge of some of the proto Indo-Chinese facts [3].

Anthropological research, which furnishes an indispensable complement to our historical sources, has been considerably impeded by the political situation since 1939, and before that date it was never the strong point of the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient's multiple activities. However, perhaps the most serious attempt to sketch the outlines of a certain cultural unity in South East Asia has been made by a man who, although he has done several months fieldwork among the Chams, is primarily a philologist. I refer to the article of P. Mus, L'Inde vue de l'Est, (Hanoi, 1934). This article, which is not mentioned in Professor Hall's book, has never to my knowledge been criticized by an anthropologist although it has been quoted extensively by H.G. Quaritch Wales in The Making of Greater India, London, 1951. P. Mus writes: "Wherever navigational possibilities establish an area within which exchange is possible, there is nothing paradoxical about expecting there to be cultural unity, and to speak of a religion of the monsoon area would be more reasonable than to speak of Indian or Chinese religion at a period prior to the existence of the civilisations which were destined to give meaning to these two words. If the study of seasonal rituals, to which the names of Przyluski and Granet will always be linked, gives the promised results, we may one day have to speak literally of a "religion of the monsoons". We must await the work of the successors of Przyluski and Granet before judging the results achieved on the basis of Mus' hypothesis. The ritual activities of the mountain groups, and the economic aspects of these rituals will have to be considered much more seriously than they have been in the past. For we can no longer subscribe to the view that the only civilized areas worthy of attention are the plains and the coastal regions. Since we are concerned with various kinds of centrism, I will limit myself here to putting the question: 'If one were to write an article entitled "China seen from the South" would one employ the same materials as Mus employed in his analysis' ?

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

To say that historians, given their preoccupation with the written word and the durable monument, cannot hope to dominate the entire South East Asian field, is only to state part of the problem. For can they ever really hope to tell us what it meant to be an ancient South East Asian ? Some lines of C. Lévi-Strauss, which refer to one particular culture, that of ancient Greece, seem to me in this respect worth quoting: "What we know today, and what the men of the 17th century (who did, however, already know the facts of the case) were ignorant of, is that, despite the monuments, the statues and the books, we will never really know what Greek culture was. We have preserved its scattered limbs: but its essence, that is to say the way in which all that fitted together in a living experience has disappeared, and disappeared for ever. The same will be true of us". If it is impossible for the historian with the mass of documents at his disposal to portray what it was like to be an ancient South East Asian, it is certainly impossible for the anthropologist, with the meagre documents at his disposal, to say what it is like to be a modern mainland South East Asian [4]. Despite the willingness of anthropologists to draw up models of society in different parts of the world, none is likely to be so rash as to propose a model which englobes Mainland South East Asia let alone South East Asia as a whole. Of course anthropologists differ amongst themselves, just as historians do, in their conception of their subject. Few professional anthropologists are in fact engaged in working over the South East Asian materials. And English social anthropologists are in disagreement with those of what one may call the Vienna school and those who publish in Anthropos, and, if they have been forced to read C. Lévi-Strauss' book Les structures élémentaires de la parenté (Paris, 1949), seem on the whole inclined to the view that Social Anthropology in France does not exist.

If anthropologists, of whatever persuasion they may be, are not prepared to subscribe to the view that South East Asia can stand alone as a cultural unit, can they help us to establish a hierarchy of cultures within the geographical limits of South East Asia ? Lévi-Strauss has written: "Our ideas about culture being themselves an integral part of a culture (that of the society to which we belong), it is not possible for us to take up the viewpoint of outside observers which alone would enable us to establish a valid hierarchy among diverse cultures; in this matter, judgements are necessarily relative, a question of point of view, and any African, Indian or Oceanian would be as justified in judging severely the ignorance of the majority of us in genealogical matters as we are in stressing his ignorance of the laws of heredity or Archimede's principle". For Lévi-Strauss therefore, all sections of South East Asian society would be equally worthy of consideration and we would not be entitled to envisage the whole area from the standpoint of any one privileged group. Marxists do not agree with this. M. Rodinson writes: "No fraction of humanity is lower than another in terms of human qualities or by its average potentialities... But it is nevertheless true that capitalist society is superior by the clarity of the social relations which it establishes between classes, by the scientific and technical development which the conditions in which it operates impose (except in its state of decay), by the possibility which its structure gives to the class struggle to formulate (and to resolve) the basic question of the definitive exploitation of the class system and of the exploitation of man by man and of the transition

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

to socialism. This superiority which is underlined by the facts in no uncertain light implies in no sense that Western Europeans are racially superior. It only shows that Europe offered, and alone offered, between the XIIIth and XVIIIth centuries, social conditions which could enable this superior form of society to come into existence". If I have understood him correctly, he would seem to reject the relativist viewpoint of many anthropologists, would subscribe to a thorough-going evolutionist concept of history and would, on the basis of Marxist criteria, be prepared to establish a hierarchy of South East Asian cultures. Whether we agree with this or not, we would do well not to ignore what Marxists think on this subject. For Marxist thinking seems destined to play an ever-increasing role in the formation of concepts of history in the minds of South East Asians themselves [5]. The interaction of Marxist thinking and local beliefs and forms of thought in Vietnam has been sketched out by P. Mus in some pages of his book, Viet-Nam, Sociologie d'une guerre (Paris, 1952). Marx's own work still awaits analysis by a competent anthropologist. This seems to me a pity. Because he constantly makes use of ways of thinking which from a methodological or analytical viewpoint we are accustomed to find in "primitive" or mythological documents. The resurgence of this "pensée mythologique" in his writings, if proved, would go far to explain his appeal to those who live in what modern politicians call 'under'-or 'insufficiently developed areas' of the world [6].

All this, it may be said, is not of much positive help in the problem of evaluating the multiple cultures of South East Asia. But if we can never fully free ourselves from the influences exercised on us by our own background and training, and if, despite all that anthropologists may say, we must persist in the West in subscribing to a linear, evolutionist concept of history, it is none the less possible, by studying our source materials in their particular cultural contexts, to improve our understanding of their value. In any given historical situation the set of cultural influences involved varies. It is obvious that the same factors will not have to be considered if we study, say, the history of a group of Chinese residents in Singapore and that of the inhabitants of a Moï village. Anthropologists, of whatever persuasion they may be, are used to asking themselves: 'Why does this text, or this myth, or this ritual, say what it does say?' Historians, as Professor Hall seems to suggest, have until recently been much too inclined to take their sources, which are inevitably incomplete, at their face value. The best example of what can be achieved by a proper evaluation of source-material seems to me that provided by R.A. Stein in his long article, "Le Lin-yi, sa localisation, sa contribution à la formation du Champa et ses liens avec la Chine", published in Han-Hiue, Bulletin d'Études sinologiques de Pékin, (Peking, 1947, ii, fasc. 1-3). In order to locate K'iu-sou, the early capital of the Lin-yi, one must use chapter 36 of the Chouei-king tchou. I think it best to give Stein's recapitulation of the problem in his own words:

> Li Tao-yuan (the author of the text in question) was an administrator. He spent part of his career among the aboriginals of Southern China. Through his duties he could acquire exact information concerning roads and distances. Yet his description of Tonking and of Annam is based solely on his reading plus a few scraps of oral information. He does not know the country at first-hand. The information

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

which he collected in this manner had to be fitted into the geographical image of the world as he imagined it to be or as it appeared to him on a map of his time. That is where his scholar's training comes in. He knows the official, historical annals and especially their chapters on geography. But in his mind he subordinates them to points of view which are inspired by two differing religious cosmographies. On the one hand, he takes his stand, notoriously and deliberately, in the ranks of the Han and Tsin folklorists who come from the Taoist background. He is more concerned with hagiology than history: it is not geographical reality which interests him, but the pinning down of holy places, of legends, of miraculous deeds, of extraordinary products. On the other hand, his first chapter in particular and the mention of Aśoka in chapter 37 for example, show that he is versed in Buddhist cosmography. The way in which chapter 36 is written, which is so remarkable because of the order in which the facts are exposed, brings to mind a legendary Buddhist itinerary like that of the Smṛtyopasthana Sūtra, the Chinese translation of which is slightly later than or perhaps contemporary with the composition of the Chouei-king-tchou. A certain number of legendary themes are common to the Chouei-king-tchou, to the Buddhist itineraries and to the old Western sources (Ptolemy, The Periplus). Precise facts furnished by travellers' notations attach themselves to these themes which are initially spread vaguely over an un-partitioned Chryse. From one particular viewpoint the practical consequence is that for fixing the site of K'iu-sou, one must leave on one side the Sseu-houei-pou, a vague term which derives from the general geographical ideas of Li Tao-yuan concerning the morphology of Indochina. Ma Yuan's legend speaks of the erection of boundary-pillars near a difficult passage, a strategic point which fixes the limit of Chinese expansion towards the South. The idea of Je-nan (South of the sun) is attached to the gnomon. The analysis of these notions and the discussion concerning the Siang (elephant) commandery and its folklore show that the application of these themes to real geographical features was the cause of a general move southwards of geographical place-names. The itineraries, the readings of the gnomon and local folklore all force us to look for K'iu-sou in the surroundings of the present town of Badon on the Song-Gianh, in the Quang-Binh, Annam. The distances given between this site and the capital of ancient Lin-yi, the observation of the gnomon also, as well as the theme of the columns of bronze and certain itineraries lead us to situate the centre of early Lin-yi and its capital in the country of Hue. Primitive Lin-yi and its capital grew at the expense of Siang-lin, the south-most prefecture of the Je-nan commandery...(p.317-318).

I have quoted this passage at length because it seems to me one of the few examples of a method which would satisfy the requirements not only of Eastern and Western historians, but also those of anthropologists of any school. Stein is not frightened of using documents which at first sight would seem to be only remotely connected with the cultural context involved. But he only brings them into play once the context itself has been fully analysed from within. I need not insist on this author's well-known mastery of source-material.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

I certainly do not for a moment think that we should abandon the study of South East Asian history, envisaged en bloc, 'in its own right'. We cannot have too many well-documented synthetic class-books, and I would like to see many more, written by South East Asians. For they would tell us more about what a South East Asian-centric concept of history really means. But if we are to make real scientific progress in this field, if we are to deepen our knowledge of particular problems in their cultural contexts in the light of the methods used by Stein, we must abandon any hope of covering the whole field. The range of knowledge required to use at first hand all the sources which concern South East Asian History is in any case beyond the ambition of the most gifted and laborious among us. The burden of a heavy teaching programme seems to leave less and less time for personal research and many a hard-pressed university lecturer, or perhaps even professor, must have said to himself: 'How on earth did Pelliot find the time to do all the work he did?'. For there are other 'preoccupations in our training and outlook' than those which result from our purely geographical position. If South East Asia was first divided between three main colonial powers, Britain, Holland, and France, it has suffered a further dismemberment at the hands of Historians, Anthropologists, Linguists, Philologists, Epigraphists, etc., which has not always resulted in a corresponding and manifest increase in our general knowledge of the whole area [7]. It is extraordinarily difficult for one man to master thoroughly in his life-time more than one or two academic disciplines. But, if we live in an age of specialization, we also live in an age when seminars, when not obligatory, are fashionable. There does not therefore seem to me to be any real danger that, by concentrating more on the evaluation of our sources, and undertaking detailed research-work at first-hand, we may (if the expression be allowed) lose sight of the wood because of the trees. After all, not only Pelliot and Mus, but many other of our illustrious predecessors in the field of South East Asian Studies were far from being narrow specialists, although they never spent much time in seminars [8]. G. Coedès, besides being the admirable historian whose work we all admire, is an excellent epigraphist and Buddhologist, has a sound knowledge of South East Asian architecture and ethnography, and, up till this year, taught Siamese at the École des Langues Orientales in Paris. Henri Maspero, a brilliant linguist and philologist, author of the admirable synthesis of ancient Chinese history, La Chine antique (Paris, 1927), a stickler for historical spadework if ever there was one, also gave us some of the best pages on T'ai society which we possess ("Moeurs et coutumes des populations sauvages", in Un empire colonial francais, t. I (Paris, 1929); "La société et la religion des Chinois anciens et celles des T'ai modernes", and "Les coutumes funéraires chez les T'ai noirs du Haut Tonkin", (Les religions chinoises (Paris, 1950), pp. 139-94 and 215-26). The multifarious activities of Jean Przyluski, former Professor of Indochinese History and Philology at the Collège de France, an analytical bibliography of whose work I am preparing for the Bibliographie bouddhique, were not limited to purely historical research work.

When one looks back at the working lives of such men, one cannot help wondering whether the new Humanism which Oriental studies have sometimes been thought to represent, is not already in process of being destroyed by the requirements of the administrative machine. In the last resort,

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

our concept of history and for that matter of anthropology, will aways derive from what we are; but what we are, I would suggest, does not always depend on the job we hold. Rousseau was long ago worried by the kind of problems we have discussed in this paper, and what he had to say about it still seems worthy of consideration: "I have here entered upon certain arguments, and risked some conjectures, less in the hope of solving the difficulty, than with a view to throwing some light upon it, and reducing the question to its proper form. Others may easily proceed farther on the same road, and yet no one find it very easy to get to the end. For it is by no means a light undertaking to distinguish properly between what is original and what is artificial in the actual nature of man, or to form a true idea of a state which no longer exists, perhaps never did exist, and probably never will exist; and of which it is, nevertheless, necessary to have true ideas, in order to form a proper judgement of our present state [9]. It requires, indeed, more philosophy than can be imagined to enable any one to determine exactly what precautions he ought to take, in order to make solid observations on this subject....' (Preface to A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality (Everyman edition) London, 1946, p. 155).

NOTES

1. I must, however, note that Professor Hall has been accused in turn of an 'Anglocentric' approach to his material by F.N. Trager in his review in the Far Eastern Quarterly.

2. This viewpoint is naturally 'conditioned' to a certain extent by the present state of our sources.

3. Since this was written Nous avons mangé la forêt de la pierre génie Goo, Chronique de Sar Luk, village Mnong Gar, has been published in Paris (Editions Mercure de France, 1957).

4. C. Lévi-Strauss, Anthropologie structurale (Paris, 1958), pp. 357-8, and note 1 of p. 358.

5. This development is to be audited with the greatest interest; for up till recently Marxists have been noteworthy for their 'Europe-centric' attitude - M. Rodinson's phrase quoted above is fairly typical. Marxists are again usually condemned to a 'Capitalist-centric' attitude, the advantage of which is that it sometimes succeeds in hiding their essentially European preoccupations. I am not, of course, referring here to Chinese Marxists. History-writing in present-day China apart, one should note the advent of Marxist historians of India such as Walter Ruben, D.D. Kosambi, and Mohammad Habib. If Kosambi and other Marxists have to date been systematically ignored by the authors of the first five volumes of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's History and Culture of the Indian People, Professor Habib's Introduction to the 1952, Aligarh, reprint of Elliot and Dowson's History of India, vol. ii, does not seem to be known to Kosambi at least in his Introduction to the Study of Indian History (Bombay, 1956).

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

6. On the notion of economic inequality see recently A. Piatier, "Les inégalités du développement démographique et économique", in l'Encyclopédie française, t. xi; La vie internationale (Paris, 1957), ch. 4.

7. 'Social Anthropology' bibliographies, for instance, seldom show much knowledge of Buddhism. See my note, "Bouddhisme et Sociologie" in Archives de Sociologie des Religions, No. 2, (Paris, 1956).

8. It could, of course, be argued that the seminar-method was practised at the École pratique des Hautes Études in Paris before it developed elsewhere: the point is subsidiary.

9. Attention has recently been drawn to the importance of this phrase by C. Lévi-Strauss in his Tristes tropiques (Paris, 1955), p. 423.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

The Healer in the Nepalese world

Nepal, situated between China (the autonomous region of Tibet) and India, is a country of poor hillmen. On the map, three main ranges of mountains divide Nepal horizontally from west to east, and are slashed through in turn by three great river-systems which tend, on the other hand, to divide the country in the direction north-south. For these reasons communications are very difficult, particularly in the east-west direction. There are few motorable [1] roads outside the valley of Kathmandu; but 71% of the population lives in the hills which occupy 83% of the total surface of the country. The word 'Nepal' is applied both to the valley of the capital Kathmandu and to the whole of the country which borders the northern frontier of India over a distance of five hundred miles. It would however be wrong to consider this valley as a social microcosm of political Nepal. If, throughout the country as a whole, material progress has naturally been more marked in the valleys than on the uplands, one finds in "the valley" of the capital a density of population, an economic activity and artistic realisations which one looks for in vain elsewhere within the political frontiers of Nepal. According to the Census of 1952 - 1954, 415,761 people live in the valley of Kathmandu; but 75% of the 8,500,000 Nepalese live in villages of less than a thousand inhabitants [2]. The concentration of foreign embassies and the rush of rich tourists towards Kathmandu should not mask the fact that the average life-span of the Nepalese is 26 years, and that 90% of the Nepalese are illiterate [3]. The effort of the rare western philologists and epigraphists who were able to enter Nepal before 1950 was concentrated mainly on "the valley" and, at the time of writing, only one ethnographic monograph provides us with information concerning a specific population which lives outside this valley [4]. So it is with a certain prudence that one must speak of the magico-religious aspects of life in the country as a whole [5].

As our ethnographic information is not adequate to provide a portrait of "the Nepalese sorceror" and insert him in his physical and spiritual universe, I will limit myself here to providing a few notes on some aspects of the activity of certain magico-religious specialists whom one can provisionally designate as healers. The doctor, in the Western sense of the term, is a rare bird in Nepal. An Indian, in a book published recently in America, states: "99% of the population of Nepal is, according to recent estimates, without sufficient medical care. In 1953, there were only fifty licensed medical practioners of whom ten doctors of medicine and the majority of these was concentrated in the valley of Kathmandu. In the same valley, there are ten hospitals with insufficient personnel and equipment, having in all 355 beds. In the other areas, a large part of the country is without medical service of any kind and along the Indian frontier there are only 24 small medical posts with a total of 305 beds"[6]. A Swiss, whose experience of Nepal is unique, adds: "Out of 785 sick people examined in Kathmandu, not less than 121 - that is to say, about 20% - were

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

suffering from amoebae. 75% of the Nepalese population has never seen a doctor". In these conditions, the healer, whoever he may be, is considdred by the people of the country as someone who practises acts which are as much magico-religious as profane. His knowledge is admired but also feared because it is not part of the knowledge of ordinary people. The healer is an exceptional person from whom are expected practical results which savour of miracles as much as of skill.

A vamshāvalī (that is to say, a genealogical list), written round about 1800 by a monk of the Mahābodhi-vihāra in Pātan, translated into English by the pandits of the British residency and edited by Daniel Wright in 1877, speaks in the following manner about a baidde (local doctor). "A Baid (physician) of Rājā Hari-sinha-dēva was one day preparing to bathe in the water at Tēkhudobhāna (confluent of the Bagmati and Vishnumati rivers) when he was accosted by Karkōtak, the king of the Nāgas, who, in the form of a Brāhman, was seeking for a Baid to cure a malady with which his Rānī's eyes were affected. The Nāg, being satisfied that the man was a Baid, entreated him to go to his house and see a patient. The Baid, after finishing his ceremonies and bathing, went with the Brāhman. They arrived at a pond, at the south-western corner (of the valley), a thousand bowshots beyond Chaubahāl. The pond was so deep, and the water so black, that it was frightful to look at. It was shaded by trees, large fish played in it, and it was covered with waterfowl. The Nāg told the Baid to shut his eyes, and in a moment he jumped with him into the water, and they arrived at the Durbār of Nāg-rāj in Pātālpurī. The walls of the palace were of gold, the windows of diamond, the rafters and beams of sapphires, the pillars of topaz adorned with rubies. The darkness of the subterranean place was dispelled by the light emanating from large jewels in the heads of the Nāgs. They entered the palace, and saw the Nāginī, sitting on a throne studded with jewels of several sorts, shaded with three umbrellas of white diamonds, one above the other, and surrounded by beautiful Nāginis. Karkōtak, assuming his proper form, took the Baid by the hand, and gave him a seat near the throne. He himself mounted the throne, and showed the patient to the Baid. The Baid, having examined her eyes, took out a drug from a bag which he carried at his waist, and having rubbed it on a clean stone, applied it to the eyes, which were instantly cured. Karkōtak gave the Baid a handsome present and a dress of honour, and having expressed his gratitude, made him promise that his descendants would be good curers of eye-diseases. The descendants of this Baid, accordingly, were renowned as good eye-doctors. Hari-sinha-dēva, having been made acquainted with these events, honoured the Baid, and gave him a place to reside, near Sēsha Nārāyana" [8].

Nothing definite is said as to which ethnic group belonged this Baid who came to the help of the "Brahman". As for Pātālpuri, we should remember that pātāl means not only "hell" as Sir R. Turner points out in his dictionary[9] but also "the last of the seven (the figure varies) underground layers of the world". We understand, therefore, that the King of the Underworld arrives on this earth, and that the healer from this earth visits the underground-world without shocking the common-sense of the author of this story. Indeed, meetings with spirits are common-place happenings in the life of the Nepalese. .A child, as soon as he is born, is submitted to the pressure of the beliefs and the rituals of the

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

collectivity to which he belongs. From a very early age, he absorbs a dose of magico-religious elements which conditions him so that he considers contact with spirits as a normal aspect of his existence. He is present at ceremonies carried out by his relatives and friends and rapidly learns to copy the gestures and the acts of worship of his elders. Each Nepalese collectivity has its own more or less professional technicians of the other world who officiate at the great life-crises (birth, marriage and death) as well as at the regular monthly rituals which aim at making nature more favourably inclined towards men. The pantheon of these specialists of the supernatural is rarely well-known to other members of the collectivity; the latter always do know a few of the names of the main figures in the pantheon; but they worry little about evaluating the relationships of hierarchy and function which unite and separate these personalities.

The magico-religious specialists of whom I wish to speak here are called in Nepali jhākri. Perhaps I may be allowed to recall that in a previous work I defined the jhākri in these terms: "He is a being who goes into trance and at that time voices speak through his body which allow him to diagnose illnesses and sometimes to cure them, to give advice concerning the future and to clarify present facts in the light of events which took place in the past. He is, therefore, at the same time a privileged intermediary between spirits (which give and cure sicknesses) and men; between the past, the present and the future; between life and death and, in another perspective, between the individual and a certain social mythology. He can, it seems, be of any jāt [10] and he can take as pupil, in order to transmit to him his knowledge and his techniques, a person of any other caste" [11]. Here, we will be concerned with touching up this definition in the light of certain documents which were not used in my first work.

INVOLUNTARY POSSESSION

First let us pause to consider the phenomenon of the trance. For it is necessary to distinguish several different categories of possession by spirits. For instance, an individual can be possessed despite himself. Here is a sample of this type of possession which I myself witnessed. One morning in November, 1961, I went to Deu Patan (in "the valley" near Bodhnāth) to see a group of beggars and professional singers (gāine), whose songs I was noting, in order to record a particular song which I had not yet got in my collection. Kali Gāine who had promised to me that he would record this song, was already known to me as a mediocre singer, and an inverterate drunkard with a very poor voice. After the usual hesitations, he settled down on the grass a few yards in front of his house and we began the recording. A few minutes later, the singer was seized by jerky convulsions. All his body began to tremble; his voice changed; his face became swollen and blue. He fell backwards on the grass. First of all, I thought that he was suffering from a crisis of delirium tremens. Thinking that the singer would be incapable of continuing, I shut off the tape recorder for a moment. I blamed myself for having made Kali Gāine sing early in the morning in a state of relative abstinence; and I was worried about his health. A dozen people, villagers, men, women and children were grouped around, most of them gāine. I was

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

the only one who was astonished and worried. Soon someone in the crowd said in a conversational tone deuto āyo ("a divinity has come") and I then understood what I should have cottoned onto immediately: he was possessed. I switched the tape-recorder on again, went on with the recording and tried to catch the subject's words. He attempted to go back into his house, stumbled heavily on the entrance-steps, knocked against the wall, fell down again and was soon bleeding from cuts on his head and on his arms which were a consequence of his falls. The crisis lasted only a few moments. Kali Gāine came out of it obviously weakened; his face was pale; he seemed disconcerted, exasperated even by what had happened. The crowd laughed and joked. For them, we had just been present at quite an ordinary happening. I did not try any longer to get my song. I returned immediately to where I was living in Kalimāti, in the western suburb of Kathmandu, and with the help of a Nepalese friend who was also present at the crisis, I transcribed and translated the words of possession. Here is the English translation. "You should have given me to eat; but you have not done so. Animal, you are wicked and distrustful, you are a dog. How good I have been for you ! But you, you were not kind to me. What have you done to please me ? Idiot, look out ! Be careful or I will change the day to night, the night to day. You should have given me food; I will destroy you completely. You ask me who I am. I am Bhat Bhateni (a divinity whose altar is to be found not far from the Snow View Hotel in Kathmandu, a divinity famous for its murders of new-born children). You should have given me a cock; but, despising me, you sent someone to offer me an egg. Even when you pass by my house, you don't think of me. Your grandfather was respectful to me and that is why I used to ride on your back. I travel far around the earth. You don't understand. You say: "Who is it ? Who is it ?" I will take your life. You are the man who each year should send me a cock but who buys a duck's egg, gives it to someone and sends it as an offering; you behave as if I was not listening to you ..." In order to get a more precise idea of the reality of this trance, one can listen to the original recording which is deposited in the musical section of the Guimet Museum.

POSSESSION AS AN INSTITUTION

We have just been concerned with a case of possession in an out-caste group. It is, however, wrong to imagine that possession takes place only among the lower classes and the country-people, at the frontiers of society. Here now is a case of possession which took place in Buddhist circles in Kathmandu and which concerns a member of the royal family; it was the starting point of a famous ritual. Sylvain Lévi, basing himself obviously on Oldfield's book, describes the event in these terms.

"Round about 1750, a little girl aged seven from a banra family declared when she was possessed that she was the Kumāri. King Jaya Prakāś Malla, when informed of this, was not easily convinced; he banished the child and her family as fakes. That evening, after the sentence had been pronounced, the queen was seized with the same trouble as the child: she began to cry out that the spirit of Kumārī possessed her. Jaya Prakāś, terrified, hastened to call back the little girl who had been exiled, and asked for her pardon. To make good his fault, he inaugurated a procession. A car, built in the form of a three-tier pagoda, was constructed;

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

and, in the lower part, the Kumārī accepted the homage of her worshippers. Close by her side, on the car's platform, were priests and a general who held the royal sword. The king himself, seated on his throne, waited in front of his palace-gate to present her with his offering. In the years which followed, the ceremony was renewed. In 1768, on the day when the procession was to file past in front of the palace, (the 14th day, which is Ananta catur-dasī) the king of Gorkha, Prithivi Narayan, took advantage of the confusion in order to penetrate by night into the town, helped by the treason of the brahmans; the local people and the soldiers, made stupid by drunkenness, did not even try to resist. Jaya Prakāś scarcely had time to escape and to flee to Bhatgaon. Prithi Narayan took his place on the throne which was prepared at the Darbār gate, made his salutations to the Kumārī, received her homage (prasāda) and gave the order for the festival to continue. Even today, on the evening of Ananta-caturdasī, a tall mast is put up on the Darbār Square. High up on the mast is hung a banner decorated with religious emblems; artillery fire greets the 'flag' as soon as it is raised and commemorates the precise mement when the Gorkhas took possession of Kathmandu" [12]. A traveller who was present recently at the festival, noted these interesting details: "One one side there is a small detachment of soldiers, clad in strange pieces of greygreen uniform and carrying long guns. Three officers with wizened faces and grey hair, armed with swords, accompany them. We were told that this detachment represented the army of 'the king of the mountains' Prithi Narayan...The uniforms are museum-pieces, but the soldiers play their role naturally and the scene is like a photograph from some old album. Their aspect contrasts strangely with that of a battalion of modern soldiers, with their freshly-ironed uniforms ... on the other side of the Square" [13].

One will be less surprised by these institutionalised possessions in the great traditions of Nepalese religion, if one remembers the practice of possession described by Buddhist writers. Herewith an example, culled from a text translated by the compilers of the Hōbōgirin, and which concerns "the method of āveśa taught by the god Maheśvara and which is of immediate effect". I quote:

"Maheśvara spoke to Nārāyana: If one wishes to know future events, one must choose four or five little boys (sk.batu) or girls (sk. kumārī) seven or eight years old, without scars nor marks on their faces, with good hearing, and of a lively intelligence. They are to be submitted to a frugal diet for three days at least, or for one week; then, when, an appropriate day has been chosen for the ceremony, Pushya, Abhijit, etc., they are to be bathed, and anointed with incense; they are to be clad in pure clothes and camphor is to be put in their mouths. In front of the person who recites, who knows the mantra and who is seated facing east, the child is to be placed upright on a small altar about one-forearm square, made of white santal-wood and fumigated with incense, and flowers are to be scattered. The person who recites burns incense from Parthia in an incense-burner; he pronounces the mantra of the Great Seal and gives seven times the Benediction. The cloud of incense is made to ascend towards the hands of the little girl, who covers her face with them, while the chanter pronounces seven times more the blessing, (scattering) red flowers...Soon the child begins to tremble: this is the sign of possession. One must then hasten to question her concerning happy or unhappy future events".

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

VOLUNTARY POSSESSION

As we saw above, possession can be involuntary. The case of Kali Gāine is not an isolated one; among my recordings which are deposited in the Guimet Museum is to be found that of a Tamang who, by singing formulae of praise to the gods, also went into trance accidentally. Possession can, however, be sought for and desired. Thus it is that I recorded a Sunwar who, after a few minutes preparation, went into trance with an ease which I found disconcerting. The Buddhist text which I quoted shows us that possession can be not only sought after, but also provoked by a third person with the collaboration of the interested body. None of the documents which we have used up to now concerns a jhãkri. How is the jhãkri different from other possessed individuals in Nepalese culture ? I believe that the true jhãkri is he who, after having first of all suffered possession by a spirit foreign to his everyday world, manages to control it and to regulate it. What is required from the potential jhãkri is, it seems, to accept wholeheartedly this unexpected meeting. He must confront the intruder with courage, must not have doubts about him and must show his willingness to prolong the relationship which has thus been established.

HOW MEN CONTACT SPIRITS

Let us now take a particular case which we shall describe briefly. Bhakta Bahadur Viśvakarman, of Kali Koti sub-caste, who was born at Sedan, in Sikkim, was living in 1959 in Kalimpong. 25 years of age in 1960, he had arrived in Kalimpong seven years previously. His father was a goldsmith and had never been a jhãkri. Bhaktabahadur had four brothers, two elder and two younger, all of whom lived in Sikkim. At the age of nine, he began to have periods of sickness. He used to faint frequently. Before fainting, he had the feeling that he was swelling up especially around his face. This used to happen every fifteen days or so. He had the impression that a spirit of a dead person (sāin) was taking possession of him. This feeling was pleasant or at least it was in no way unpleasant. In the month of Cait (our March/April), at the full moon, he went to a cremation-ground near his village and stayed there hidden in a cave on the bank of a river for four days and four nights. In the day-time, he slept; and at night, he kept awake. He was neither thirsty nor hungry. At night, he used to meet beings he had never seen before. These beings used to teach him mantra (magico-religious formulae) and incantations. Meanwhile, his parents, who were very worried, set out to look for him in Gangtok (capital of Sikkim) and at Siliguri (in the plains), but without success. He was well hidden and it was only on the evening of the fifth day that his parents found him. Later, they told him that he had appeared to be unconscious when they discovered him and it was only once he was back again in the house that consciousness returned to him. It was on the advice of a jhãkri, Manbahadur Chowkhan that his parents had gone to look for him in the cave. After his return home, Manbahadur, who lived close by, came round after four or five days to ask him questions about his experience. Bhaktabahadur was not scolded by his parents for his escapade; his parents had nonetheless been worried during his absence. Manbahadur told the parents that, in his opinion, Bhaktabahadur was going to become a jhãkri. Bhaktabahadur's father became angry: "Let him die, it is all the same to me. But I don't want any jhãkri in this house". Yet he was a friend of Manbahadur.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

When Bhaktabahadur and Manbahadur saw each other, their meetings used to take place in a little house situated at some distance from the house of the parents. These meetings went on for about six months. Friends and brothers of the possessed man used to come to them from time to time; but Bhaktabahadur's father never came. Then, one fine day, Manbahadur gave a drum to his pupil and told him to go for seven nights to another cremation ground. During these six months Bhaktabahadur had learnt from Manbahadur the significance of the meetings he had had with the spirits during his first stay in the cave. He had learnt the rituals necessary for rendering homage to the spirits he had met; and these rituals served to regulate the attacks of the spirits and to transform them for his own profit. During the seven nights passed in the second cremation-ground, Bhaktabahadur learnt further rituals. Under the orders of Manbahadur, he built a pujāthān (altar for offerings) composed of nine stories. This altar was divided vertically into three parts, each of the three sections being dedicated to particular spirits. Fifteen or twenty men from the village were present at this second stay in the cremation-ground, women being kept at a distance. All those who were present there were provided with rice and alcohol during the hours the ceremony lasted by Bhaktabahadur's father.

Later, during the month of Mangsir (our November/December) Bhaktabahadur, this time alone, went back once again to the same cremation place. During the day-time, he used to return home to eat and sleep and at night-time he accomplished his rituals alone on the cremation-ground hill. On the twelfth day, he returned home and did a guru-pujā (ceremony of homage to his master) in front of the family house. The whole village, nearly three hundred individuals, were present at this ceremony. On this occasion, the villagers themselves brought food, eggs, fruit, alcohol, etc. His father contributed his share. From that day onward, if anyone was ill, Bhaktabahadur used to go to his house to try to cure him. He was sometimes summoned also when a house was being built. Sometimes, he used to be summoned from quite far away: from time to time he used to go to Siliguri, to Gangtok, etc. There were, it is true, four or five other jhãkri in his village; but at that time, he was only ten years old, and many people wanted to see "the little jhãkri". He had little to do with the other jhãkri who were somewhat jealous; but he remained on good terms with his teacher Manbahadur. Up till the age of eighteen, he remained in his village. He used to work in the fields, looked after the cattle, etc. At eighteen, he came to Kalimpong with some friends and became an apprentice-carpenter at the mission school. Shortly afterwards, he cured a girl who had been sick for twenty-five months, and later married her. She gave him one son. His father who did not approve of the sacrifice of cocks which were necessary in the worship of the Sikāri (spirits responsible for inflicting sickness) often asked him, as did several of his friends, to give up his jhãkri activities. But he does not intend to do so. He is modest about his possibilities; but as he obtains positive results and as his activities lessen human suffering he does not want to stop. He never accepts money before undertaking a cure; but he often receives presents of money or food when a sick person gets better. He uses local medicines (jungle roots, etc) and western medicine (aspro). He asks advice from other jhãkri of any caste; and other jhãkri ask him for advice. He always leaves his jhãkri material (drum and necklaces) in his guru's house; he

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

say that this is a habit without any particular significance. He reads any medical books in Nepali which come into his hands. He has three pupils at Kalimpong and one in Sikkim. This case shows us that once collaboration has begun between an individual and a spirit who possesses him, the potential jhākri also needs an earthly master. The advice of someone who is already a real jhākri is necessary to help the apprentice jhākri to identify and to regulate his relationships with the spirits. The consequence of this double collaboration will itself be double. The apprentice jhākri will recover from his physical and spiritual malaise and will find himself thereafter capable of curing the illnesses of other men. However, one should not imagine that the diagnosis of the possessing spirit through the intermediary of an earthly jhākri necessarily occurs immediately after the first crisis. Let us quote the example of Nursingh Chetri, a postman at Darjeeling whose age was about fifty in 1960. Born in Dolakha (in East No. 2 in Nepal), he had come to Darjeeling at an early age. His father was a jhākri. One year before the death of his father, the divinity (deuto) began to come to Nursingh. Nursingh who was then aged nine, did not know that it was the divinity of his father who was coming on him. He was troubled. He did not understand who was coming on him. He was troubled. He did not understand who was responsible; and often he used to leave home and wander in cremation-places like a sleep walker. At the age of thirteen, he left home like a madman and went to Jamalpur in the United Provinces. He arrived in Jamalpur without any possessions whatever, and when consciousness returned to him, he set about finding work. He took service in the Eighth Risāla regiment: he remained there for eight months; during this period, he was "attacked" at irregular intervals by the divinity. Among the military police, there was a Gurung Havildar whose daughter was suffering a great deal from the attacks of a chuiel (spirit of a woman who had died accidentally). This Havildar had summoned a guru-bābu (meaning literally "old master" or "respected master") who lived at more than sixty kilometres from there in the hope of getting his daughter cured. The day when he received his monthly pay, Nursingh went to the bazar and saw the guru-bābu doing a pujā in the Havildar's house. Nursingh then went home to bed but was awakened during the night by the sound of the rkang gling (human or animal thighbone used as trumpet) and the drum played by the guru-bābu. He rushed out and found the place where the guru-bābu was officiating under a mango tree. On either side of the pujā thān was a human head. Nursingh saw these and, just at that moment, the divinity "attacked him". Nursingh seized one of the heads and ran off carrying it to a cremation place about two hundred metres distance from the thān. Several fires were burning in the ghāt. Nursingh who was still carrying the head under his arm was pushed into one of these fires by the spirits. He felt as if he was fighting with several men. The Havildar, who had been present when Nursingh arrived under the mango tree, was somewhat disturbed by the way the latter had rushed off and he asked the guru-bābu to look after Nursingh first of all before going on with the ceremonies for his own daughter. The Guru-bābu sent two cloves to Nursingh. Suddenly, Nursingh realised that he was in the fire of a funeral pyre with two cloves in his hands. His clothes had been burned; but he himself had not suffered. Nursingh, still carrying the head, came back to the tree under which was seated the Guru-bābu. At that moment, the deuto, which had already so much troubled him, came on to Nursingh. and this time stated his identity.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

The Guru-bābu said to the deuto that he should only come when he was summoned and that he should not come at other moments. Shortly afterwards, Nursingh left the army and went to live with his guru at Jorighat, a village in the district of Jamalpur. As his teacher was in trouble with the police authorities, Nursingh and he often used to live in the jungle, and changed their place of residence at least once a year. Nursingh remained six years and nine months with his guru. During that time he learnt how to summon his spirits; what he had to give them to drink and to eat; and how he should construct the altar for offerings. One day, Nursingh said to himself that he would like to see again his four brothers whom he had not seen since his departure from Darjeeling. He, therefore, left his guru and went to Calcutta where he found work as a coolie.

The foreman at the place where he was working was a Sikh. Nursingh was the only Nepalese among the coolies employed there: all the others were people from the plains. Three days after he had started work, in the middle of the night he heard the sound of a rkang gling: he felt as if he were being attacked by spirits. The next morning, he asked the foreman if there was anyone ill in the house, as he had heard the sounds of a ceremony. The Sikh snubbed him and told him to mind his own business. The following day, once again, Nursingh questioned the foreman. The latter replied that his daughter had been sick for more than a year and was behaving like a mad person.. An ojhā (healer from the plains), who had tried without success two evenings before to diagnose the sickness had asked if, by chance, the coolie who was a Nepalese could not help him. The next day Nursingh went to the sick person. As soon as he entered the room, the girl said: "Why have you come ? I am leaving". Nursingh nailed the spirit in place with a mantra and replied: "Who are you ? Why have you possessed this girl ? Leave her now, but return, please, around 8 o'clock this evening". The girl became a little calmer and Nursingh went off to his work. Around eight in the evening, he came back to do his pujā. He summoned the spirit who was possessing the girl and the latter came. It was the paternal grandmother of the girl who had come to trouble her. This grandmother (who had died by falling into a well) was displeased with the marriage which was being arranged for her granddaughter. The latter had considerable wealth which would leave the house after her marriage: the dead person did not like to see this money leave the family house. When Nursingh did his pujā, the girl began to talk: "Now you are going to celebrate the marriage of this girl, but I want none of this. If you persist in this marriage, and force her to marry, I will carry her away. If you do not persist, she will get better". The marriage preparations were stopped immediately. Two hours later, the girl, who had become much calmer since she was told that the ceremony had been cancelled, appeared normal once more. This was the first cure undertaken alone by Nursingh after his long apprenticeship. When this happened, the foreman promoted Nursingh and kept him in his house for a year. When he had earned sufficient money, Nursingh came back to Darjeeling. To begin with, he found work there as a stable-boy, and, later, looked after polo ponies at Darjeeling and Calcutta. For the last nineteen years, he has worked at the post-office in Darjeeling.

The meeting with the earthly master sometimes looks as if it was the outcome of chance. However, the search for a good teacher seems, in other

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

cases, to be a voluntary act. It is only in this way that one can interpret the steps taken by Harkabahadur Lama (Tamang jāt). Born in East No. 1, he was living, in 1959, at fifteen minutes walk south of Thimi in the eastern part of the valley. Harkabahadur had his first crisis at the age of six. He was seized by convulsions which used to last fifteen minutes and which recurred every four or five days, sometimes in the daytime, sometimes at night. One or two jhākri summoned by his parents did not manage to identify the spirit which was coming on to Harkabahadur; they limited themselves to saying that it must be a bāyu (spirit of a parent who has died) [16]. Hanuman Bir Panca-Mukhi came on to Harkabahadur when he was nineteen, and was identified by a jhākri. But none of the jhākri consulted in the neighbourhood of his village were able to make Harkabahadur's deuto come at the exact moment when he had need of them. Nonetheless Harkabahadur performed his first cure at the age of twenty-one. At twenty-four, little satisfied with the training he was receiving in the village, he left for Kyirong in Tibet (north of West No. 1) where he remained for some time with a lama. For two or three months, this lama taught him some elements of Buddhism, showed him how to render homage to Buddhist divinities and how to use a rosary. Then Harkabahadur went to Makwānpur (to the north of Amlekhganj in Chisāpani Garhi). He stayed there studying for one year with a guru called Kharkabahadur Khatri Chetri. This man taught him how to cure headaches, cramps, convulsions, attacks of paralysis and twitchings with the help of mantra. He then went to Pātan where he stayed for more than a year with a teacher who was a Gubhāju called Tirtharāj (that is, a Newār priest). This guru taught him how to take the pulse of a sick person and how to use jungle medicines. Harkabahadur has never used western medicines. Later, he studied during one week with another teacher at Khumbheśvara (in Pātan). This teacher taught him how to harm people with mantra. Harkabahadur now manages to regulate his relationship with the spirits and, each time he undertakes to cure someone, he begins by rendering homage to all his guru.

It seems to me to be premature to wish to esablish the list of spirits, meetings with which are likely, in Nepal, to spark off a jhākri vocation. Our knowledge of these facts is still too superficial. However, there is no doubt that in many areas of Nepal and Muglān [17] in the eyes of the local people, the person who, in his first crisis, is possessed by a ban jhākri (jhākri, spirit of the jungle) is considered as the jhākri par excellence. This is what happened to Balbahadur Tamang who in 1961, fifty-five years of age, was living at Kushibar to the north-east of Kālimāti in the western suburb of Kathmandu. At the age of eleven, he was sleeping one evening in the stable with the brother and sister of his paternal cousin. In the middle of the night, he felt, on the nape of his neck, a hand which was carrying him off into the jungle. He felt the hand on the nape of his neck; but he saw no one. He was led to the entrance of a hole in the rock below a waterfall. When he went into the hole, he found himself in a big cave, decorated with jewels and emeralds. He noticed in one corner a golden bed. The walls and the pillars of the cavern shone with jewels. In front of him were a jhākri amd his wife. The wife said: "That is good, you have brought him for my food. We must kill him and eat him". The ban jhākri answered: "No, you must not kill him. I have brought him here to make him my pupil. Leave him alone". Every morning and every evening, the ban jhākri taught a few mantras to

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Balbahadur. The ban jhãkri used to go out early in the morning, used to come back around ten and go out again in the evening around five, returning afterwards very late. The ban jhãkri used to sleep only a little and used the hours of the night to pursue his teaching. Because of this, Balbahadur also slept little. When the ban jhãkri went out, Balbahadur had to stay in the cavern; the wife of the ban jhãkri busied herself with the cooking. Her husband brought back each day three grains of rice; as soon as these were put in the cooking-pot, the latter over-flowed with cooked rice. In addition to these grains, the ban jhãkri also used to bring back lentils, and kanda-mul (edible wild roots). The ban jhãkri did not eat four-footed, or two-footed animals, or birds. He taught Balbahadur how to cure sickness, how to take the pulse, how to chase away the bhut and the pret (evil spirits) from the houses of sick people. Taking the pulse turned out to be very important for it was by this means that the jhãkri knew which mantras were required in the case of a particular sickness. Twice a day, the ban jhãkri used to do a pujā; he took grains of rice and divided them into eleven piles, and played on his drum. His drum was made of gold. This ban jhãkri was in fact Sun jhãkri "the golden jhãkri". The brothers of Sun jhãkri, Bāla, Latthe, Katthe and Lāto [19] sometimes came to visit him. Balbahadur does not know if Sun jhãkri had any sisters; in any case, he never saw them. His training lasted throughout six months. Suddenly, at the beginning of the seventh month, he found himself back in the stable from where the hand had carried him away. His parents were very astonished to get him back and worried by the fact that that he had become dumb. He remained in this condition for two years. Then his father went to summon a Tamang jhãkri and ask him if it would be possible to cure his son. The jhãkri did some rituals, went into a trance and declared that Balbahadur had been carried off by a ban jhãkri and that a pujā must be done to such and such divinities. The father did so: his dumb son copied his gestures. The pujā lasted all night. At the end of the pujā, Balbahadur spoke, and told what had happened in the cavern. The guru in question lives (1961) at Namura Syampatighate, 18 miles east of Kathmandu in East No. 1. Balbahadur still stutters but he can now control the arrival of the spirits. Among his present pupils are to be found Tamang, Japhu, Banra, Kami and one Magar.

HOW SPIRITS COME TO MEN

One final remark. We have seen how the jhãkri enters into a decisive relationship with spirits. Let us now see how a spirit comes to a jhãkri. This story was told to me at Darjeeling in 1960 [20] by Balsingh jhākri: In the Himalayas, close to the snows, are to be found places where there are magnolias (cāp and gurās), bamboos of several kinds (mālingo and ningālo), pine trees (dhupi) and orchids. A Gurung shepherdess (gothalni gurunginī) was leading her herd of goats, sheep and cattle to pasture. She felt sleepy and went to sleep under a magnolia tree. At that moment, a snake drew near her. This snake was Sarma. The snake rolled itself around her body, bit her, and in consequence she died. After her death, all the animals grouped together around her and waited. In the evening, her spirit (ātmā) which had become Sorah Sarma (sorah means "sixteen" [21]) led back all the animals to their respective places. Her body remained in the forest. But in the form of Sorah Sarma (male), she travelled everywhere. She went to places where are to be found jhãkri and bhijwāmi [22]

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

(female healers). At their request, she comes to their help to cure sickness. When she goes to Lhasa, she takes the form of a vulture (giddha). When she comes down into the plains (Mades), she changes herself into a fish (singge) and enters the rivers. In Nepal, she takes the shape of a falcon (bāj). In still other places, she takes on the appearance of a wild duck.

Although this story is short and probably incomplete, certain themes are clear: first of all, that of a strange, unusual death. Mortal snake bites are, in point of fact, very rare at high altitude in Nepal. Now the jhākri also, at his first crisis, dies in his way. He emerges from his experiences a changed man-both from a social and from a religious point of view. His activity will no longer be limited to his own collectivity. Henceforth, it will, theoretically, be operative among all the people of Nepal. The death of the shepherdess was the prelude, the condition necessary for her transformation, her dismemberment into several bodily supports which, for us, are of different species. Her person was dismantled out in space, (in Tibet, Nepal and the plains) and scattered throughout time: dead, she still manifests herself to men. If one notes a certain similarity of structure between the destiny of this shepherdess and that of our jhākris this is doubtless because contact between spirits and men, as between men and spirits, is established within one and the same system of thought. The spirits and the jhākri share, if I am not mistaken, the same theory of how knowledge is passed on.

NOTES

1. However, one year after this article was written, Le Monde of 6th April, 1965 predicted that the road leading from Kathmandu to the Kodari Pass would be finished with the help of Chinese technical assistance "towards the beginning of 1966". See J. Wetz, Entre la Chine et l'Inde, in Le Monde of 6, 7 and 8 April, 1965.

2. For further details, see Census of Population, Nepal 1952/54 A.D., Department of Statistics, Kathmandu, 1958.

3. See, for example, the statistics in Education in Nepal, Report of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission, Kathmandu, 1956, p. 34.

4. C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, The Sherpas of Nepal, Buddhist Highlanders, London, 1964.

5. Mention should be made of two old books which contain information which is still important: Kirkpatrick, An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, London, 1811, and Francis Hamilton, An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, Edinburgh, 1819. In 1903, C. Bendall published "A History of Nepal and surrounding kingdoms" in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, LXXII, p. 1-32; and between 1905-08, Sylvain Lévi brought out his masterly study: Le Népal, Annales du Musée Guimet, Paris, vol. XVII-XIX. For a more recent and excellent analysis which concerns particularly the period between 750-1482 A.D., one can consult L. Petech, Medieaval History of Nepal, Rome, 1958. The books of D.R. Regmi, Ancient Nepal, Calcutta, 1960 and Modern Nepal, Calcutta, 1961, are disappointing.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

As far as the country areas are concerned, particular mention must be made of the research undertaken by two learned travellers: G. Tucci and D. Snellgrove. Of the former, Tra Giumgle e Pagode, Rome, 1953 and Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions to Nepal, Rome, 1956; of the latter Buddhist Himâlaya, Oxford, 1957, and Himâlayan Pilgrimage, Oxford, 1961. D. Snellgrove has also published two very useful articles which will help travellers to find their way rapidly among the religious monuments of "the valley": "Shrines and Temples of Nepal" in Arts asiatiques, Paris, 1961, t. VIII, fasc. I, p. 1-10; fasc. 2, p. 93-120. For the region of Dolpo, opened up to science by the travels of Mr. Snellgrove, see also C. Jest, "Mission to Nepal" in Objets et Mondes, Paris, 1962, t. II, fasc. II, p. 107-30. Peoples of Nepal Himâlaya, Scientific Results of the Japanese Expeditions to Nepal Himâlaya 1952-53, edited by H. Kihara at Kyoto in 1957 contains much information but also numerous mistakes, for the authors did not know properly either Nepali or Tibetan. The Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet of B.H. Hodgson (London, 1874) are a little out of date, but will be of value for a long time yet as witness to the activities of a particularly curious man. Prof. Fürer Haimendorf, one of the best-known present-day specialists of Nepal has published in the last ten years several important articles among which "The Inter-relations of Castes and Ethnic Groups in Nepal" in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1957, XX, p. 243-53, and "The Sherpas of the Khumbu region" in Mount Everest, translated from the German, London 1963, p. 124-81. By leafing through E. Fürer-Haimendorf, An Anthropological Bibliography of South Asia, La Haye, 1958, H.B. Wood, Nepal Bibliography, Calcutta, 1959 and T. Kambara, Nepal Bibliography, Tokyo, 1959, one will glean further references. In France, we are waiting impatiently for the posthumous publication of a monograph by Bernard Pignède, Les Gurungs, une population himalayenne du Népal. At present, one can read his "Clan organisation and hierarchy among the Gurungs" which appeared in Contributions to Indian Sociology, No. VI, Paris, 1962, p. 102-19. For the Nepalese language, see T.W. Clark, Introduction to Nepali, Cambridge, 1963. A Danish savant at one time held almost the monopoly of Newâri studies. After the work of this pioneer H. Jorgensen (A Dictionary of the Classical Newâri, Copenhagen, 1936, A Grammar of the Classical Newâri, Copenhagen, 1941, etc), M.S. Lienhard took over with his Manicudâvadânoddhrta, A Buddhist Re-Birth Story in the Newâri Language, Uppsala, 1963.

6. P.P. Karan, Nepal, A cultural and physical Geography, Lexington, 1960, p. 74.

7. T. Hagen, Nepal, The Kingdom in the Himalayas, Berne, 1961, p. III.

8. I quote from the re-edition of this book published in Calcutta 1958: D. Wright, History of Nepal, p. 107-08. I do not have access to the Nepali text but Mr. Petech, who has examined a photocopy of it, is witness to "the substantial correctness" of the English translation published by Wright (Mediaeval History of Nepal, p. 9).

9. Dictionary of the Nepali Language, London, 1931, p. 362, s.v. pattâl.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

10. The word jât has not one meaning alone, valid throughout Nepal. For this word Sir R. Turner was right to indicate meanings as varied as "sort, kind; tribe, nation; caste" (Dictionary, p. 213). According to Pignède, the Gurung use the word jât to designate their clans (Clan organisation...p. 103). However, numerical categories of classification are not only to be found among the Gurung. In Nepalese society, there is the example of the Twelve and the Eighteen Tamang. To the information published on this subject by E. Vansittart (Handbooks for the Indian Army: Gurkhâs, Calcutta, 1915, p. 141-43) one can now add the traditions collected by Santabir Lama, Tambâ Kaiten, Darjeeling, 1959, p. 27-34. In the latter book, the Tamang word rui is translated into Nepali both by jât (introduction, p.k) and by thar (p. 103). For the theory of the Eighteen Sherpa, one can read Haimendorf The Sherpa of the Khumbu Region, p. 144. Certain of the "clans" (rhu: ? Tib. rus) enumerated by Prof. Haimendorf bear the name of Tibetan families. For the use of numerical categories of classification in Tibet, see R.A. Stein,"Mi-ñag et Sihia", in the Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, t. XLIV, fasc. I, Hanoi, 1951, p. 254, n. 2, and Les Tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines, Paris, 1959, passim.

11. "Notes préliminaires sur quelques jhãkri du Muglân" in the Journal asiatique, 1962, fasc. I. p. 107-39. At the time of writing these lines, I did not yet know Nepal at first hand: my experience was limited to a stay of two years between 1958-60 in the area of Kalimpong. Since then, I have been lucky enough to stay five months in Nepal itself, in 1961-62. At that period, I passed two months in the valley of Kathmandu, six weeks a few days north of Kathmandu in the area of Yolmo, and one month in East No. 3. During my stay in "the valley", I was primarily concerned with the gãine, professional beggars who were the raison-d'être of my field-work. It was only as a side-line that I was able to take notes on the jhãkri. This fact is not altogether unimportant: for if I had planned my itinerary solely in view of obtaining information about jhãkri, I would have gone to quite different areas and at other times of the year.

12. S. Lévi, Le Népal, vol. 2, p. 53-54. Cf. H.A. Oldfield, Sketches from Nipal, London, 1880, vol. II, p. 313-20. Without giving his reasons, Oldfield states: "The Buddhist festival is evidently adopted from the Hindu festival of Jagannath, in honour of Jagannath and his brother Balaram, and the Kumari represents their sister Subhadra" (ibid. p. 316). This remark appears to me somewhat hasty. Cf. "Juggernaut reconstruit" in Journal asiatique, 1953, fasc. IV. p. 487-528. For the feast of Indra, see S. Lévi, ibid; A.A. Bake, "Ein Indradhvajotthama in Nepal", in Indologen-Tagung 1959, Gottingen, 1960, p. 116-21.

13. T. Szekelz, "Fête d'Indra à Kathmandu," in Sciences et Voyages, No. 160, 1959, p. 37 and following.

14. Hōbōgirin, Tokyo, 1929, fasc. I, p. 7 the article ABISHA. However, few of his colleagues would agree with J.F. Staal when the latter affirms: "Possession and trembling are in fact part of the Sanskritic

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

great tradition" ("Sanskrit and Sanskritization" in Journal of Asian Studies, vol. XXII, No. 3, May, 1963, p. 26-27). Because people tremble in the course of them, should one attribute divination ceremonies of the pra type described by Mr. Tucci (To Lhasa and Beyond, Rome, 1956, p. 29-30; cf. S.C. Das, A Tibetan-English Dictionary, Calcutta, 1960, p. 842, s.v. phra phab-pa) to an Indian influence in Tibet ? I do no think so.

15. One can get some idea of the local pharmacopia which the jhākri can use by reading K. Biswas and R.N. Chopra, Common Medicinal Plants of Darjeeling and the Sikkim Himalaya, Alipore, 1950.

16. Cf. Journal asiatique, 1962, No. 1, p. 132, n. 38 where bhayu is to be corrected to bāyu. There is a tendency to apply the word bāyu not only to the spirit but also to its earthy supports: man, stone, etc.

17. "Muglān" englobes the areas inhabited by Nepalese outside the political frontiers of Nepal.

18. This theme of the adventure in the jungle has been recently studied in its Indian context by Walter Ruben: Waldabenteuer des indischen epischen Helden, Berlin, 1962.

19. Cf. the names noted at least two hundred kilometers to the east of Kathmandu in Journal asiatique, 1962, I, p. 123.

20. On Balsingh jhākri, see Journal asiatique, 1962, I, p. 110 and following.

21. One will not fail to note that the society of Gurung men is divided into four jāt and sixteen jāt. See Pignède, op. cit., p. 105. I am not yet convinced of the need to look for a unique starting-point for these systems of numerical classification in the Gangetic plain.

22. Cf. Journal asiatique, 1962, I. 133, n. 49 and p. 136, n. 77.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Apart from the sources quoted above and in my article in the Journal asiatique, one will find comparative materials in the following works:

Berreman (G.D.), Hindus of the Himalayas, University of California Press, 1963, especially p. 110-11, 134, 386-87. "Brahmins and Shamans in Pahari Religion," in the Journal of Asian Studies, vol, XXIII, June, 1964, p. 53-69.

von Fürer-Haimendorf (C), The Sherpas of Nepal, London, 1964, especially p. 254-70 and "Ethnographic Notes on the Tamangs of Nepal" in Eastern Anthropologist, vol. IX, Nos. 3-4, specially p. 174-75.

Hosten (H), "Paharia Burial-Customs (British Sikkim)", in Anthropos, vol. IV No. 3 and 4, 1909, p. 669-83. S.L. Kayastha, The Himalayan Beas Basin, A Study in Habitat, Economy and Society, Varanasi, 1964, p. 267-68.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Lorimer (D.L.), "The Supernatural in the popular belief of the Gilgit Region", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1929, p. 507-36.

Morris (J), Hired to Kill, Some Chapters of Autobiography, London, 1960, p. 120-21.

Schmid (T) Tantrisk Mark, Stockholm, 1956, p. 57 and following.

Siiger (H), Ethnological Field-Research in Chitral, Sikkim and Assam, Preliminary Report from the third Danish Expedition to Central Asia, Copenhagen, 1956, p. 21-22.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

The Tamang as seen by one of themselves

Fifteen years after the opening of Nepal to western research, we still have at our disposal only one professional anthropological monograph concerning a population of the hill areas. I refer to that of Professor Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf which deals with the Sherpa of Solu-Khumbu [1]. This is little enough when one considers the size and the cultural fragmentation of a field of research that is physically difficult of access and which demands from researchers serious linguistic training. For instance, the information we possess in western languages about the Tamang is generally of indifferent quality [2]. To the best of my knowledge, the most serious recent contribution to knowledge of this ethnic group is that of the same Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf, "Ethnographic Notes on the Tamang of Nepal" [3]. However, that article only deals with Tamang who live east of Kathmandu; and large groups of Tamang live also to the south, the west and above all, to the north-west of the capital[4].

In view of the weakness of our sources, it seems useful to draw attention to a little book which may interest anthropologists and tibetologists and which is entitled Tambā kaiten [5]: its Nepalese subtitle "Genealogy, habits, customs and songs of the Tamang" indicates its content. This book was published in Darjeeling in 1959,[6] and its author Sri Santabir Ḷāmā (Pākhrīn) who was for long governor of Ilam, is at present, unless I am mistaken, a member of the National Panchayat [7]. The author seemingly knows neither Tibetan nor English, so I thought it useful, while reviewing his book, to indicate in brief notes certain Tibetan parallels which will perhaps help towards a better understanding of the Tibetan sources of Tamang culture. However this does not mean I am trying to deny that Hindu influences have been active on the same culture.

Where does the name Tamang come from ? In English, it is written Tamang or Thamang [8]. On the other hand, the word Murmi is used to designate the same ethnic group in certain English sources which rely often on information collected in the east, in particular, at Darjeeling, outside political Nepal. In fact, Murmi is perhaps a Tibetan term which designates the "people of the frontier" (mur," at the frontier" + mi, "man") [9]. von Fürer-Haimendorf has not heard the word Murmi employed spontaneously in Nepal itself, [10] and my own findings confirm this impression [11]. In Nepāli, one writes Tāmang, Tāmāṅg or Tamāṅg [12]. G.N. Roerich, in an article entitled "Fundamental problems of Tibetan linguistics" [13] writes: "Tamang means cavalry (rta-maṅs)": this is a curious slip for maṅs, perfect of maṅ-ba means: "to be rich in, have a lot of". Certainly maṅ is employed as a plural in common speech; but rta-maṅ means "a lot of horses" and not "cavalry". Moreover, now-a-days the Tamangs are famous neither as horse-breeders nor as horsemen. With regard to the remark made by Roerich, it is interesting to see that his Tibetan collaborator Dge-'dun chos-'phel wrote in his Deb-ther dkar-po, (fol. 12a), published at Lhasa in 1946, that rta-maṅ is probably a deformation of rta-dmag "army of horses", that is to say "cavalry" [14].

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

I shall pass over the preface of Tambā kaiten and begin by giving large extracts from the introduction (p.k.-jh), in which the author explains in Nepali the aims of his publication. These, we shall see, are basically practical and there is no point in blaming the author, who is a militant collector of folklore, for not having written a book on anthropology. Here is what he says: "For the last twenty years, I have sought to collect traditions (paraṃparā), genealogies (vaṃsāvalī) and oral information concerning the habits and customs (rimṭhim) of the Tāmang people (jāti). I have tried to find out where their Buddhism comes from and what is their country of origin. I have succeeded in obtaining books (pustakharu) written in Tamang language and in Tibetan writing. These books are entitled Tambā kaiten, Ruichen cyopge, Jikten tāmchyo and Ramā. I have heard it said that others exist.

"Tambā means 'poet' and 'historian' (kavi ra itihāskār) and kaiten what the poet writes after reflection (tambāle bicār gari lekhekā); this explains the title of the book Tambā kaiten.[15]. Rui means jāt [16] and chen "name". Cyopge means "eighteen". The genealogy (vaṃśāvalī) which describes the eighteen jāt of the Tamang is thus called Ruichen cyopge[17]. Jikten means "compilation, essence of religion" and tāmchyo means "book of sayings" (kurāko pustak). The book in which the fundaments of religion are consigned is, therefore, called Jikten tamchyo [18]. Ramā (gītko tālsur: tāl "hand-clap" + sur "musical note, melody, tune") is a book which contains rhythmic songs sung at marriages [19].

"In the Tambā kaiten, examples are given of the habits and customs of the Tamang.

"In the Ruichen Cyopge, the family divinities (kuldevatā) [20] of the Tamang are described.

"In the Jikten tāmchyo is told the story of the creation and of nature.

"In the Ramā are found songs in Tamang language.

"Apart from the four books which have just been mentioned, the hvāi [21] contain important traditions and stories concerning the Tamang. The words of these hvāi are pleasing not only to Tamangs but to whoever takes pleasure in music. One finds in them information concerning religion, social life, ascetism and the habits, dreams and imaginings of the Tamang, as well as solutions to certain problems.

"Among the songs of the ancient villages of Nepal, those of the Tamang are not only interesting and beautiful; they are also instructive. They are appreciated in Nepalese society. The Tambā who composed these songs conserved them for Tamang society. It is the duty of every Tamang to seek out the hvāi composed by the Tambā. In Tamang, people don't say gīt, but hvāi. When they meet together, instead of saying: "Let us sing some songs," the Tamang say: 'Hvāi gogo'.

"Music is not only a pleasure for the human race; it also vehicles culture, caste-duties, religion and work-obligations. There are few who do not take pleasure in music. Each jāt has its own music. This art is

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

at once the mirror and the ornament of a people. In ancient times, men sang of the beauties of nature; as time passed, songs were composed and collected and were made into the Ved, and thereafter the Śāstra and the Purāṇa, etc., were composed.

"The original home (kendrasthān) of the Tamang is to be found in East Nos. 1, 2 and 3, in West Nos. 1 and 2. I have sent people to the east, to the west and into the valley of Kathmandu to collect information on the traditions, the habits and customs and the hvāi of the Tamang, and the result of this investigation is published here. Although there are differences in the speech of those who live in districts in the east and in the west, at Sindhu Palchok, at Temāla and in the valley of Kathmandu, nevertheless the traditions concerning the habits and customs are the same.

"The caste-obligations of the Tamang are based on these, and whoever diverges from them will be blamed. I went to Tilpung in East No. 2, where my family comes from, and through contact with the Tamang of that area, I was able to collect much oral information.

"To maintain order in the village and to settle differences of opinion concerning the customs of the country, the function of Gānvā [23] was created. To consign the words of the ancestors and to preserve the habits and customs, the function of Tambā was created. The Tambā put in order the ruigī pholā (kuldevatā), and made known the genealogies (vamsāvalī). By composing the Tambā kaiten, the Tambā laid the basis for habits and customs. By composing the Jikten tāmchyo, he fixed the (dharma). By writing the Ruichen Cyopge, he made known the jāt. By composing the Ramā, he gave birth to the hvāi which are of great importance and thus rendered service to his people. The Tambā is the guide (aguvā) of the Tamang: he is also poet (ādikavi). It can also be said that the hvāi contain the history of the Tamang. If the function of the Tambā had not been created, the Tambā kaiten would not have been composed and Tamang music would not have existed. Who were our ancestors ? What are our religious duties ? Who are our parents and kinsmen (vamsa kutumbā) [24] ? Nobody would know this [25] if the function of Tambā had not been created; and we would have remained like jungle people. But thanks to the actions of the Tambā, the Tamang today know the music, the language, the religious and family duties of their ancient culture.

"In days gone by, whether they acted well or badly, the Tamang did not fail to appoint a Tambā. Nowadays, when a Tambā disappears, the Tamang do not always replace him. If the activity of the Tambā were to cease, Tamang culture would also disappear. It is an important social and religious duty to maintain the Tambā in activity. It is not just a matter of preserving a tradition; it is relevant also to the conservation of the Tamang language. In the future, all dialects will disappear. When a dialect disappears, the moral system and the culture of a jāt cease to exist, and future generations will live in darkness. To raise the level of his people, every man with education should play his part in maintaining his dialect and his cultural heritage. So as to help those who may have forgotten their own dialect and no longer understand it, I have given in approximate Nepali translation in this book the principle

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

traditions which I collected in Tamang [26]. If this little book can help towards the understanding of the importance of the Tamang, I will be satisfied.

"The habits and customs of the Tamang are praiseworthy. In days gone by, men followed the moral code and did not turn aside from their own culture. The customs of others were not discussed, no effort was made to propagate abroad one's own habits and customs and no effort was made to adopt those of others.

"If one considers Nepal from the geographical viewpoint, the Tamang live in faraway corners and valleys, so they do not easily meet with strangers. Thus as they do not have occasions to compare their country with those of other men, the Tamang are backward. Nonetheless, among the populations of Nepal, they occupy an important place.

Tāmang, Kāgate, Yolmāli.

"Yolmā [27] being situated next to the Tibetan frontier, the speech of the Yolmāli has borrowed much from Tibetan. In the speech (bhāṣā) of the Kāgate who live between the Tamang country and Yolmā,[28] are mixed both Yolmāli and Tamang. Nevertheless, in these areas the ruigi pholā (kuldevatāharu) are in their great majority the same, and I feel able to confirm that these three barga [29] form one people (eutai jāti).

"When did the Tāmang, the Kagate, the Yolmāli, the Holange [30] and the Sherpā who live in the kingdom of Nepal learn Tibetan writing and from where did they learn it ? When and why did they adopt Buddhism (lāmā dharma) ? Before trying to explain these facts, it is well to give a brief historical summary of the relations between Tibet and China.

"Round about the year 700, the Tibetan King Svāngsan Gempo (Tib. Sroṅ bcan sgam-po) attacked the kingdom of Nepal which passed under the control of the Tibetans. The History of China states that the Tibetan alphabet came into use from the time of the reign of Svāngsan Gempo [31]. After having made a request to King Dharmapāla, the Chinese had carried off to China a precious statue (tāmang:ku)[32] of the Buddha. The Nepalese, with the permission of King Aśoka, had carried off a similar statue to Nepal. With a view to bringing these two statues back to Tibet, ministers were sent to demand in marriage two royal princesses, one from Nepal, the other from China. As the two sovereigns refused to give their daughters, King Svāngsan Gempo personally took the field with his army; threatened with war, the two countries gave the two girls. These brought with them as dowry, from their two countries, these two statues. This story is to be found in the History of Tibet Māne Kambu [33]. Nepal having come under the rule of Svāngsan Gempo, the Tāmang, the Kāgate, the Yolmāli, the Holange and the Serpā learnt the Tibetan alphabet [34].

"At the time of Svāngsan Gempo and later, up till the reign of King Mūrticyāngmo, the religion of the lama was not diffused. The 'Pon-bo' (tantrik jhākri) [35] religion was enforced. After Mūrticyāngmo, Dittendepcan became the king of Tibet. In his time, the religion of the lama was propagated and attempts were made to construct Samyak Gumbā

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

[the dgon-pa ('monastery') of Bsam-yas]. As they were not successful, Guru Rimborche Risipadmasambadā [Tib. Guru Rin-po-čhe, (sk.) Ṛṣi Padmasambhava] was invited from the plains (Madheś) and he preached the religion of the lama. He managed to construct Samyak Gumba. The book Māne Kambu tells how Guru Rimborche put an end to the religion of the Pon-bo in Tibet [36].

"As the religious treatises of the lama were written in Tibetan writing, and as this was also the alphabet used in their own books, the four jāt mentioned above could read these treatises and they thus acquired the religion of the lama [37]. The Tibetain language, by a natural process, was mixed with the dialect of these four jāt whose books (pustakmā) contained many Tibetan words.

"In Tibetan, regiments of foot-soldiers are called kangmak [38] and regiments of cavalry tamak [39]. The History of Tibet relates that many of the Tamak who came with Svāngsan Gempo to fight in Nepal and in India did not return to Tibet but settled down in Nepal and in India. Tibetan specialists believe that when the word tamak, meaning the Tamang of Nepal, passed into common usage, it become Tāmang. However, in my opinion, the Tamak did not become the Tamang. I think that these latter are indigeneous inhabitants (ādhibāsi) of Nepal. If the Tamang originated from Tibet and if they came with Svāngsan Gempo (to Nepal), there should be some mention of this in Tamang genealogies. We should also find therein at least some mention of Svāngsan Gempo's having come with them. But no mention is made anywhere of these facts. Moreover, the Tamang have never heard the name of Svāngsan Gempo mentioned.

"To say that the Nepalese word Rāi and the Bengali word Rāy become in common speech Roy is just to make up rhymes. To say that Tamak becomes in common speech Tāmang, is just to make rhymes.

"The great Mahārāni Rājlakṣmī Devī says, in the colophon of the letter which she wrote in 1800 from Sugauli camp to order the death of Sritīn Mahārāj Jangbahādur Rānā: 'In all Nepal, my subjects number 196,000' [40]. If we make a rough calculation on the basis of this figure, at the time of Svāngsan Gempo's attack, there should not have been in the whole of Nepal more than 25,000 or 30,000 inhabitants. The whole country was then covered in jungle. Whoever wanted to settle there moved in wherever he wanted and lived as he desired.

"In the Tāmang hvāi, are to be found jostled together descriptions of the mountains of East No. 1, 2 and 3, and of West No. 1 and 2, of Yolambū (Yolmā) in the north and of Madheś in the south. It is often question of Sailung-ḍāḍa. In Tāmang ḍāḍa (mountain) is called gang and also lung [41]. The area is called Sailung ḍāḍa because of the hundred mountains which are to be found there.

"Much research has still to be done on the hvāi of the Tambā and on the ancestral traditions of the Tāmang. This book is not complete: it represents only half of my materials.... The Tāmang, the Kāgate, the Yolmāli, the Serpā, the Holange and the Simsyābā [42] form 60% of the population of Nepal [43]. 'Without education, they remain like a dead body which is upright.....".

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

The book starts abruptly (p.11) by giving a few definations in the form of Nepali translations or Nepalese paraphrases of Tamang terms: First there comes the Council of "Five" (in reality, they are seven) which looks after village affairs [44] and which is composed of the coho [45] (president), the mulmi [46] (village chief, headman), the ngāpta [47] (ascetic) the dopta (sage), the gānbā (elder), the tambā (historian of the genealogy) and the mulmi gaurāi (secretary). Next, we learn about those who are appointed to watch over the correct execution of the ghevā [48] (terminal funerary ceremonies). In these rites, participate the lāmā lopen [49] (priest), the gānbā (elder), the konggyer [50] (intendant), the umje [51] (musician), the lāiba [52] (one who looks after the food and drinks), the katuake (organiser), the chyāngmā (who looks after the supply of betel nut) and the chyu-bā (who looks after the cooking utensils) [53]. The author then explains the terms used by Tāmang when they greet each other: che-riṅ means "long life" [54]. After lists of recipients (pong) used on different occasions (when one makes a request, when friends meet, etc), Mr. Santabir Lama gives a list (p.13) of terms concerning rules of conduct (niti) which is worth reproducing. Here it is: gleṭhim [55] = rājnīti (politics); mithim [56] sāmājik (society, sociology); chyoithim [56] = pustak ko dharma niti (religion as consigned in books); brelba susamgaṭhan (organisation); mrāsing bulva = rtu rtuko phalphul khāne niyam (rules for eating fruits according to the season); kukpā khachyoi = isarale bubhane kurā (language of signs) [57]. Food placed in the house of a dead person before the body is carried off to the cremation-place is called duchyāng [58]. Those who go to eat at the ghevā must bring anna [59] and this offering is called car. Poor and rich alike have this same obligation. The car must not only be what was due to the dead person at the time of his death.

The author next gives some brief comments to explain the hvāi. These are sung at marriages and reunions of parents and friends. They start with the formula amile ho amile: an invocation to the mothers (mātṛ-bandanā) [60]. They end with the formula: mannālā hai dannālā krāsyā nāngri yunālā; mannālā means "golden ashes" and dannālā means the triphalā (that is to say, the three myrobolans: amalo, barro and harro) [61]; krāsyā means in Tamang "brains" and nāngri "inside". The final formula, therefore, means: "May the golden ashes and the three myrobolans go into the brain!"

The first hvāi, Sāng lā [62] hvāi, of which the author gives the text and Nepalese translation (pp. 16 - 18) enumerates the offering of different kinds of incense to different divinities. The offerings are made to the seats of the village divinities, to purify a place which has been polluted by a birth or a death; to the three openings of the hearth; to the divinities of the plains of Tibet, to the divinities of the east, of the south, of the west and of the centre of the earth, to the sun and to the moon, to Mother Earth and to the Kuldevatā.

In the second hvāi, Sergem [63] lā hvāi (pp. 18-19), the officiant, after having offered rice to the divinities of the four cardinal points, of the underworld, of the atmosphere, of the village and of his house, requests the help of those who know the Śāstra, of the pandits, of the yogins, of the old men, of the civilised jhākri of the plains (Madheskā sabhya jhākri) of the wild jhākri of Tibet, of the jhākri of the Tīn Parbat, of the Gānbā and of the Tambā, and of many other divinities. One

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

notes in these invocations the syncretic aspects and the lack of sectarianism. They seem to be rooted as often in the great as in the little Nepalese religious traditions, which in turn are derived from Indian and Tibetan models [64].

Next comes (p. 20) the description of the making of a drum (damphu) [65]. It is not specifically stated whether this is a Tambā's drum. However this may be, the song tells us that when he was hunting in the Himālaya, Pengdorje [66] killed a wild goat (ghoral). With the skin of this animal, he apparently covered one head of his drum, the frame of which was made of ambursing (koirālo) [67] wood; bamboo pegs were used for stretching the skin. The sound of the drum was like the voice of Sarasvati. In my opinion, there are clearly gaps in the "text" of this song.

Then comes (p. 20) a prayer. The Tambā takes his damphu and gets ready to sing. "Please remain seated on my head, you, divinities of the village, you, my family divinity, you, the parents who gave birth to me, you, the divinities of the Tīn Parbat of the Himālayas, you, divinities of the east, of the south, of the west and of the north, listen to me and I will sing to you a song which will please you". The song (pp. 21-23) is entitled "The Description of the Creation" (Sāchyā nāmchyā la [68] hvāi). "I am not a tantrist who is an accomplished yogin, and I am not versed in the Śāstra. I am not a perfect Tambā. I do not know how to offer fruits and flowers according to the seasons. I do not know the language of signs, and I cannot use it. I do not even know how to relate the Tambā kaiten. I have only heard two or three hvāi related by an old Tambā. If you are good enough to listen to me, I will repeat to you all these. I salute you all, elders and men of good will.

"At the time when the sky and the earth were without form and invisible, the Dorje gyāram (vajra) [69] of the air was formed. This Dorje gyāram filled the whole universe; above it was created fire, and on the fire a lake of water. On the lake, white foam, as it became solid, was transformed into earth (māṭo) [70]. Next, the mountain Sumeru was created. Starting from this mountain, the east, the south, the west, the north, and the four intermediary directions were separated out. In the four directions, human beings began to be born. Each established his sovereignty, the Gods settled down in the sky, the Nāgarāja in the under-world, the hunting Gods in the intermediary space (antarikṣā).

"Note: it is stated in a mundum [71] how the Ringā Sāngge [72] (Pañca Bhagavān) installed their authority (rājya) on earth. I was not able to find this hvāi.

"In Syār (east) [73], in the Luibā country, Sāngge Dorje Semba [74], taking for symbol the elephant, made a lion's throne and installed his kingdom.

"In Lho (south) [75], in the country Pālden Cekpe, Sāngge Rinchen Jyungne [76], taking for symbol the horse, erected a lion's throne and installed his kingdom.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

"In Nhup (west) [77], in the country Palang Cyo, Sāngge Nāvā Thāyā [78], taking as symbol the peacock, erected a lion's throne and installed his kingdom.

"In Jyāng (north) [79], in the country Dramingyān, Sāngge Doin Ḍupā[80], taking as symbol Syāng-Syāng (winged man), erected a lion's throne and installed his kingdom.

"In the centre of the earth, in the palace Tukpokoipe, Sāngge Nambar Nāṅgje [83], taking as symbol the lion, erected a throne and installed his kingdom".

On p. 23, a hvāi enumerates the places of pilgrimage: "In Mades, there are three places of pilgrimage: Gayāji, Sārnāth and Kuśinagar. In Tibet, too, there are three: Cari Gangri, Uisamyak, Lapci Chyukar, Demusum [84]. Finally, in Nepal, in the country of the Newar [85], there are three: Simbū, Bauddha and Nambutā [86].. When one sees Nambutā, the sins of the body are purified. The sight of Simbū prolongs life. The sight of Bauddha fulfils desires". The author adds that the benefits to be derived from the vision of the holy places of the plains and of Tibet are certainly mentioned in some hvāi, but he was not able to find it.

A hvāi then describes (pp. 23-26) the source of the Ganges: "Among the snowy mountains of Mānasarovar, there are four snowy peaks which have respectively in the east the form of an elephant, in the south that of a peacock, in the west that of a horse and in the north that of a lion. The base of each of these four summits is at Mānasarovar [87]. From the four mouths, rivers flow. When the water which comes out of the mouth of the elephant, which is in the east, reaches Tibet, it is called I syāng Gangā. When it reaches the plains, its name becomes Badro Ganghi (Brahmaputra). When the water which flows from the mouth of the peacock, which is in the south, reaches Tibet, it is called Cyomo Gangā. When it reaches the plains, the Cyomo Gangā is called Cangmā Ganghī (Bhāgirathi). As for the water which comes out of the horses' mouth in the west, once it reaches Tibet, it is called Khuge Cyāngpo. The Khuge Cyāngpo, once it has arrived in Mades, is called Solo Ganghī (Satlaj). When the water which comes out of the mouth of the lion which is in north reaches Tibet, it is called Lādak Cāngpo. When it arrives in Mades, the Lādak Cāngpo takes the name of Singgu (Sindhu nadi).

"As the throne with the elephant mouth is situated in the east, religious books were created in Tibet.

"As the throne of the peacock's mouth is situated in the south, the women of the south are beautiful.

"As the throne of the horse's mouth is situated in the west, the horses of the west are splendid.

"As the mouth of the lion is situated on the north face of the throne, the people of the north are happy" [88].

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

A hvāi then takes up again (p. 26) themes which have already been dealt with. It states that the country blessed among all is Khambuling (Tibbat) [89] where religious books were composed. The most holy place of pilgrimage is Dorjedin [90] (Buddha Gayā) where the Buddha practised austerity. Blessed among all countries is Ammar Ling (Barmā) [91] where are to be found diamonds and other precious stones. The most holy town is Urgen Ling (Peśāvār) where Guru Remborche was born. Among the trees, the best is the Santal: it is a manifestation of the divinity, its wood is pure and it is put on the head of divinities and of men.

On p. 27, an invocation in Tamang and in Nepāli preceeds the Tamang text of the Ruichen Cyopge: "I present my respects to the yogins who have realised the yoga, those who know the Śāstra, the pandits, the respected men of the village, the tantric jhākri of Tibet, of the plains, of the Valley, and of the mountains (pahār-parbat), and men of good will. I can explain the genealogy. I understand the language of signs, and I can make it understood. I am here among you, not to teach you the seasons and how to offer fruits at each of them, but to tell you, if you wish it, the hvāi of the genealogy as our ancestors relate it". After the Tamang text of the "Eighteen Names of the Rui" (p. 27-31) come recommendations in Tamang, and in Nepāli translation, as to how to worship the kuldevatā. There should be no marriages between blood relations: "Those who do not marry their blood relations are in good health, respect religion and live long". Then comes (p. 32-34) the Nepāli translation of the Ruichen Cyopge. All the sentences are built on the same model: a place of origin is connected with a rui and the kuldevatā of the rui are listed. Here, as an example, is the first: Donggyāl deśmā dongko janma bhayo/murgulen nāmka kulko nām bhayo, "The Dong originated in the Donggyāl country: the name of their kuldevatā was Murgulen". I have summarised the information furnished by the Nepali translation in a table which is to be found on page 138.

This list is important, the place names and the rui pholā which are connected with each rui are not to be found in Vansittart, who, moreover, does not give the same list of rui. Here the author provides us with a list of thirty rui (if we consider Gyāmdan, Gole, etc. as one rui) [92]. However, he does not divide them into Bāra (twelve) Tāmang and Athāra (Eighteen) Tāmang [93]. One cannot fail to note the very Tibetan aspect of the names of the divinities [94].

On p. 35, a hvāi describes the (re-)creation of the world: "At the end of time, seven suns and seven moons shine in the sky. All the forest dries up. Stone and earth melt like wax. The earth becomes a lake. The god again makes the earth. The green dubo [95] grows and the ũniu fern flowers" [97]. Santabīr Lāmā adds in a note: "Whether this song is true or false, the Tambā has no doubt related it in order to persuade men to worship the divinity". There follows (p. 35-36) a hvāi which concerns the grains (budicitā) from which religious necklaces are made. According to this hvāi, a Tambā, who had become a siddha, came, a very long time ago, to Temāla. He offered incense and lit lamps in honour of the gods and goddesses of the hunt, of the kuldevatā, of Mother Earth, etc. While he was practising austerities and given up to his devotions, a tree grew; on the tree little grains began to sprout. The Tambā called the tree and its

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Place	Rui	Kuldevatā
Donggyāl	Dong	Murgulen
Nākpo Cmāgi Gombo	Yonjan	Lāmā Konjyo
Ngili Brākhar	Bomjan	Dongmarcan
Syārgi Gombo	Lopcan	Apinal Lāmā Kunjyo Naljyormu
	Gyāmdan	
	Gole	
	Domden	
	Bal	
	Dāratāng	Gyālbo Lāhibu Nāngsari Māmu
	Titung	
	Gāngtān	
	Gongbo	
Muku	Muktān	Yābje Lāhibu Gyālbo
		Ngili Chepan Gyālbo
		Gyapcan Gyālbo
Sergong	Ghising	Lugu Cāngmar
Yālung Sok	Thing	Dimā Mebā Camri
Cāngkong	Ngyāsur	Can
Gyānak	Gyābā	Gyālgi Ghurlā Mangmi
Jyānggangri	Ngyāngjo	Simlākarpo
Thotho Ringen	Thokar	Thoicankarpo Ḍakmarcen
Sāru Thothari	Rumbā	Pholākarpo
Purāng Yo	Pākhrin	Camril Guru Cancan, Syārgi Jyo
Selmaṇḍal	Vāibā	Karpojyo Choman Gyālbo
		Nupgijyo Yāblākarpo Sāngvarmi
Citā	Mārpā	Voilā Gyālbo
Gomā	Gongbo	Lāmā Konjyo
Lo Gyālsā	Lo	Jyampal Since Lāmā Konjyo
Syāngce	Ṭoisāng	Uigi Gyālbo
		Ngingce Gyālbo
Syāng	Syāngbo	Gongthāngjyo
		Thangmaljyo
		Yābjejyo
Siṃgā	Ngeke	Ngimā Hoiser
Ṭuku	Ṭupā	Ngavāncan Māyu Duichyo
Love Gumbā	Blon	Can
Gomā Sitong	Gomden	Jyāmal Phurbā Thilen
		Gyāgarneḍotopjebe
		Bande Gyālbo
Brokhar Gumbā	Singgar	Can
Cāngpe	Mikcan	Cangrilā
Lunggi Khorlo	Lungvā	Khyungcan
		Si-ilāden
Pālgisam	Jimbā	Balthoican
Selmaṇḍal	Glān	Pekar Gyālbo
Ḍumā	Ḍumjan	Jāmbalsingyen Lāmākonjyo

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

grains Budicitā. He who wears a necklace of Budicitā and who worships Bhagavān will acquire great merits and Bhagavān will be happy. The Tambā made a promise: the grains of Budicitā will not grow anywhere else except at Temāla as long as the Tāmang follow their religion. A note from the author adds that these grains are in fact only to be found at Temāla. Attempts have been made to sow them elsewhere, but without success. At Temāla, thousands of Budicitā trees grow. Tibetan merchants come here each year to buy for lamas grains which they take away with them. The Tāmang of Temāla derive considerable profit from these Budicitā.

I shall not linger over the hvāi of p. 37-51 which apparently do not add much to our understanding of the Tāmang. On p. 51-54, one finds some praśnottara, that is to say "solutions to problems". For instance, "What is the ornament of the sky ? What is the ornament of the earth ? What is the ornament of the village ? Tell us, and we will listen to you. The tree which fulfils desires is the ornament of the sky. The ornament of the earth is the pipal tree. Boys and girls, boys and girls are the ornament of the village". We would need more detailed information before being able to judge to what extent these praśnottara differ from the prahelikā of India or from the Tibetan lde'u.

A hvāi (p. 55) invokes the father and the mother of the world, the village and kul divinities, famous jhākri of Mades, of Bhoṭ and of Parbat. Then come modern songs (phāltū gīt) (p. 58-60).

On p. 60-63 is to be found the text of the Tambā kaiten. This is difficult to interpret for there seems to be a considerable difference between the Tāmang and Nepāli "texts". I have not translated it here; I hope to be able to read it later with a competent informant. Herewith nonetheless a summary of its contents. The Tambā begins his song by saluting those with knowledge of the Śāstra and those who devote their lives to meditation. He renders homage to the lamas and to the jhākri of the plains, of Tibet and of the mountains of Nepal. He says that without the sun, which rises in the east and goes down in the west, the snows of the north would not melt, and the countries of the world would be in darkness. Without the sun, there would neither be clouds nor water; and that is why the sun is a great divinity. The year was divided into twelve sections and the months were created; then the year was separated into four parts which are the seasons. In each month, the full moon and the new moon were distinguished. Without the rules of nature which were decided by the divinity, there would exist neither months nor seasons. Without the changes in the seasons, agriculture would be impossible; and, without food, man could not subsist. On p. 52-63, this theme is suddenly interrupted and the author indulges in moralising which has no obvious connection with what went before. Then comes the story of the creation of the earth which takes up once more the themes which were already treated above [99]. There follows on p. 67 a list of names of countries: "In the east, there is Bangāling (Bangāl), to the south Betāling (Betiyā), to the west Urgyenyul (Peśāvar), to the north Khāchyoiling (Kāśmir); between the east and the south is Khambuling (Khām Tibbat), between the west and the north is Amarling (Barmā), between the south and the west is Sānggāling (Silon), between the north and the east is Kāmāruling (Kābūl) ..."[100]. The Tambā again takes up the list of pilgrimage-places which was quoted previously and affirms: "The most important place of pilgrimage is is Buddhagayāji; the most important man is Bhagavān Buddha; the most

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

excellent among the trees is the Santal; the most important country is Tibet". Once the devatā were settled in the sky, and the śikāri [101] in the intermediary space, the five Buddha at the four cardinal points and in the centre. in each country man was created. A name was given to each country; pilgrimage-places and village divinities were created; and names were given to villages. "The five Buddha, practising austerities, created humanity, declaring that men should be born to worship the divinities".

The next section of the Tambā kaiten (p. 69-71) concerns Phāṭehujyang chyu sembā ḍāsin ḍolmā [102]. This is their history: "When Brahmā of the four faces (Phābā Cyāngresi) [103] was practising austerities in the forest, a goddess of the woods stayed near him to serve him. When she went to pick flowers for the god's worship, a monkey named Ṭehujyāngchyū Sembā shook the trees and made the flowers fall. When she went to find water, he dirtied the water and the goddess was angered. She said to Bhagavān: "His body is like that of the rāksas [104]; his face seems to wear a mask. He gives me so much trouble". Bhagavān said: "My daughter, I created you and I created him too. In future, see that it is he who brings me the flowers and the water, and then I will marry you to him". The goddess went back into the forest to repeat these words to the monkey. Then she led him to Bhagavān. The monkey and the goddess got married; and the birth of humanity began. A boy called Phoḍub and a girl called Moḍup were born. The brother and sister married and had three male children: Lhāmin, Jyolsum and Ḍhunḍup [105]. The eldest, Lhāmin, went off to the country of the gods (devalok); the second, Jyolsum, took birth in the spirits of birds and animals, and the youngest took birth in the spirit of the cow Kāmadhenu" [106]. The author adds in a note: "The story of Phā Ṭehu Jyāngchyuk Sembā and of Mā Ḍāsin Ḍolmā is related in a book. Between that story and the one which has just been told here, there are some differences. However, both the stories agree in saying that humanity was born from this marriage".

The following section (p. 71-74) is entitled Ghevā gendunri tambāse sungbā lengbo (the title is not given in Nepāli). I would translate it thus; "Born in the form of a lump of flesh, man suffers from pains and sickness. In order to find out if these misfortunes came from the divinities (devatā) or from demons (bhūt), the Gānbā practised divination and the lama looked into the ci [107] (pātro: calender, astrological chart). Offerings (sergem) were made to the gods of the sky and ceremonies were celebrated to exercise the bhūtpret. However, the misfortune did not grow less. What grows old dies. For the dead, borne up by the earth and oppressed by the sky, the day itself is dark. In these conditions, what is to be done ? The wisdom of our ancestors teaches that a man who dies is neither a cow nor a goat but the incarnation of a man. The custom grounded in the experience of our ancestors must be followed: a lama (purohit) must be called who will accomplish the sāplāphobā [108] (ṭupī nikālnu) [109] and the brimlā ngovā [110] (cokhine saṃkalpa) [111] and who will also carry out the jinchyāk [112] (sacrifice made at the place of death); one must not be satisfied just with the pho and ngo (sic!). I maintain that one must also carry out the thāmālā ghevā [113] (terminal funerary rites).

"We have prepared the sālāngsī [114] (for the offering to the earth) and the eleven-sided kilkhor [115] (brahmāṇḍa citra) [116] for the worship of the supreme divinity (parameśvar); we have put facing the sky the siṭho lhācho (the paintings of the thirty-three koṭi of devatā). We

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

honour the Buddhist books and the sāmgri [117] of the lāmā (musical instruments, etc. necessary for the pujā). Here are the thi umje (tarikā milaune sadasya: controller of the rites) and the chyoppan [118] (the officiant at the altar of the devatā). Present also is the lama who knows the Śāstra and the Gānvā Gānsum [119] (those who know the ancient customs of the lineage) who are seated to the right and to the left. Although I have not offered the food as it should be done, and although I do not know how to ask you to serve yourselves, I beg you to drink a phuru of beer (jānṛ)[120]. Please transmit my request to the deb-devatā of the sky. May the dead person be liberated ! I ask the Kusungthu [121] (Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvar) to grant my prayer".

Then comes (p. 74-75) a song entitled Minjyāng prācchi lā ramā. The Nepāli sub-title indicates that this is a ramā sung by the Tambā at the moment of the Minjyāng. The word Minjyāng is not translated into Nepali in the vocabulary. "When he who is born in the form of a lump of flesh dies, the earth-element in his body returns to the earth, the water returns to water, the fire to fire and the spirit of air to air [122]. In the case of a male, a bone (haṛ) of the dead person should be given to his younger brother; and, in the case of a female, to her parents. If it had been clothes, the parents could have worn them; if it had been money they could have spent it. But I say that this bone must be put into the hands of the Tambā[123]. If an exorcism had been pronounced on the bone, the Tambā could have given it to the sacrificer. If it had been money, he could have spent it; if it had been a credit-note (hyandnot)[124], he could have kept it in a box. However, if one gives this bone into the hands of a lama, he will send it to Sāngge Iopāme[125] (Brahmā) in the world of Brahmā (Brahmālok). Therefore, I give it to the lama. I pray that the dead be liberated and the living freed from their pain". This song attests a ritual collaboration between the Tambā and the Lama which it would be interesting to verify in the course of field-work [126].

On p. 76, the author tells that "He who, whatever his cast (jāt), worships Bhagavān through Buddhism (lāmādharma) is called Nāngvā Sāngge [127]. Those who worship Bhagavān through other religions (aru dharma) are called Rongbā Sāngge [128]. As the majority of the Nāngba Sāngge do not know the Tibetan alphabet (lāmā aksar), they are forced to remain silent when the lama say their prayers (molam). It is for this reason, explains the author, that he has next given the molam for an offering (cho) [130] and also a prayer to Guru Remborche in Nepāli. I will not dwell here on these two sections (p. 76-81) nor on the explanation of the formula "Oṃ māṇi pedme huṃ" which is to be found on p. 82-83. I shall, however, translate the short summary of the significance of the māne (chyorten) [131] given on p. 84-85. "The seat of the Sāngge Ringā (Pañca Bhagavān) is called māne. On the soksing [132] (a piece of wood on which mantra are inscribed) which is placed inside the māne are written the five letters: oṃ. huṃ, ṭāya, ri, ā, which constitute the mantra of Pañca Bhagavān:

"Oṃ: Ui Nāgnbar Nāngjye: divinity of the centre of the earth.
"huṃ: Syār Dorje Sembā: divinity of the east.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

ṭāma [133]: Lo Rinchen Jyongne: divinity of the south.
ri: Nup Nāvā Thāyā: divinity of the west.
ā: Jyang Ḍoyen Ḍuba: divinity of the north.

"Those who have a bad reincarnation and who live miserably will obtain liberation as do the spirits of the dead, if they come in contact with a wind coming from a māne inside which this mantra is inscribed. Strong in their belief in the Śāstra, men put up māne on high places where the wind blows from the four directions and they consecrate them (rapne) [134]. If anyone does a māne korā (circumambulation by the right), burns incense and lamps, makes offerings and bows down, both he and the builder of the māne will acquire many merits and the sins of many rebirths will be wiped away. If this act is accomplished, the spirits of the dead also will obtain liberation. Everyone renders homage to the māne, offers incense lamps, has faith in the Śāstra and proclaims: "May all lives be peaceful and happy". It is through ignorance of what is written in the Śāstra that a lama will put the bone of a dead person (ringsal) [135] in a māne. The māne lasts hundreds of years during which hundreds of thousands of men make offerings and render homage to it. Now it is a great sin to put a ringsal in a māne which has the sung [137] (mantra) of the holy Pañca Bhagavān. The children of someone who has died, in his memory, put the ringsal into a tiny little dursa; [138] they do not consecrate the dursa: they do not put the sung inside it and nobody renders homage to it. Dursa and māne are completely different".

Then comes (p. 85-108), the general Tāmang-Nepāli vocabulary of 1031 words which we have had recourse to in the course of this review. This vocabulary is a great progress on the feeble documents which are to be found in the Linguistic Survey. On p. 108 are to be found the names of the twelve months followed by numbers, then words which describe the weather (p. 109-110). The book ends with a list of sixty-three words which designate different parts of the human body.

Rather than stress the weak points of this book, I have sought to underline its positive aspects. Moreover, at least one local critic has already taken the author to task for having remained silent about work done by his Nepalese predecessors in the Tāmang field. This critic, Mr. Dharmarāj Thāpā [139], was perfectly right, in my opinion, to express doubts about the specifically Tāmang nature of many of the songs which figure in this book. For these are the end-products of centuries of history during which cults, festivals, pilgrimages, war and trade have jostled together populations of diverse origin in a manner which makes it impossible to determine ab initio the real indigeneous elements. However, Mr. Santabīr Lāmā does not pretend to be a sociologist. If we should be grateful to him, it is because he helps us to understand better how a Tāmang, at the present day, envisages his own culture and presents it to Nepalese readers. In doing this, he has given us new materials which, however fragmentary they may be and however imperfectly they have been presented, are now accessible to researchers.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

NOTES

1. The Sherpas of Nepal, Buddhist Highlanders, London, 1964. This is a good descriptive monograph but the author who does not know Tibetan was ill-prepared to evaluate the contribution of Tibetan civilisation to Sherpa culture. Moreover, the title of his book is too ambitious; in fact, it concerns almost exclusively the Sherpa of Khumbu. See the criticisms formulated by D. Snellgrove in the review published in Asian Review of Art and Letters, New Series, April 1965, vol. 2, No. 1.

2. Among works which can be found easily, are Sir F. Tuker, Gurkhas, London, 1957, p. 271-272; W. Brooke Northey and C.J. Morris, The Gurkhas, London, 1928, p. 256-260; J. Kawakita, Peoples of Nepal Himalāya, vol. III, Kyoto, 1957, p. 85-86. Among the older books, the few pages by E. Vansittart, Gurkhas, Handbooks for the Indian Army, Calcutta, 1915, pp. 139-143, are remarkable. The best edition of this book is that, made by C.J. Morris, which appeared at Delhi in 1933; however, there are few modifications concerning the Tamang in this edition if one compares it with the previous ones. The most recent edition, Ministry of Defence, Nepal and the Gurkhas. London, 1965, is an anti-civilian work, where the names of von Fürer-Haimendorf, Snellgrove and Tucci are not even mentioned. The Linguistic Survey of India, vol. III, 1st Part, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 189-198 and 254-271, is not very rich.

3. Eastern Anthropologist, vol. IX, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 166-177.

4. T. Hagen in his Nepal, The Kingdom in the Himalayas, New Delhi, 1961, p. 66-67, goes so far as to write:"...their original Nepalese home is on the Southern flank of Ganesh Himal, bounded on the East by the Tirsuli River and on the west by the Buri Gandaki". See also Nepal and the Gurkhas, p. 112.

5. For Nepāli and Tāmang words written in devanagari in the Tambā Kaiten, I follow the system of transliteration used by Sir R. Turner in his Dictionary and modify it on one point only. Instead of ṅ I write ng: this is to avoid having to write Taman. As for Tibetan, I use the system of the Journal Asiatique. Words the spelling of which is uncertain are preceeded by an asterisk; so as to allow the reader to control more easily my translation, I furnish from time to time in brackets the Nepāli words corresponding to the English words. The author of the Tambā Kaiten sometimes employs himself Tamang expressions for which he provides Nepāli equivalents and glosses. In such cases, I have translated into English the equivalents and glosses. All direct quotations from the book are given between inverted commas.

6. I have never been able to find the first edition of 1957.

7. On the composition and the role of the National Panchayat, one can read A. Gupta, Politics in Nepal, A Study of Post-Rana Political Developments and Party Politics, Bombay, 1964, p. 255-259.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

8. For instance, in the works of von Fürer-Haimendorf and of Brooke Northey quoted in notes 1 and 2 above.

9. mtha' is another Tibetan word which means "frontier". S.C. Das, in his Tibetan-English Dictionary, Calcutta, 1902, p. 598, translates mtha'-mi by "prantabasi, border people, barbarians". W. Brooke Northey and C.J. Morris, op. cit., p. 260, mention the Thami: "only about 3,000 or 4,000 in number they live chiefly on the banks of the Sun Kosi and Tambur Kosi rivers". See also Das, ibid., p. 597, s.v. mtha'-khob. For the word mu, see above all R.A. Stein, "Notes d'étymologie tibétaine", in Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, t. XLI, 1941, p. 211-216. One should not search at all costs for a "Tibetan" explanation of the name Tamang. As a compound mtha'-man is scarcely satisfactory. I do not think it is necessary to take seriously the note concerning Tamara in R. Shafer, Ethnography of Ancient India, Wiesbaden, 1954, p. 134.

10. "Ethnographic Notes"..., p. 166, n. 2. One may suppose that the English of Darjeeling had to deal most often with people from the east of Nepal. One notes, therefore, with interest in Imansingh Chemjong's Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary, Kathmandu, 1961, p. 217, the following: "Mummi, Tāmāng, Tamang (tribe)". It is not impossible that Murmi is only a deformation of Mummi; but there is nothing to prove this. One should not oversimplify a complex problem certain essential aspects of which were examined in another perspective by R.A. Stein in his Tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines, Paris, 1959, p. 50-66.

11. However, we must take into account a page which is remarkable in other respects and which is by Francis Hamilton who stayed in Nepal in 1802 and 1803. I reproduce it here, for An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal and of the Territories Annexed to this Dominion by the House of Gorkha, Edinburgh, 1819, is rather a rare book. "In the more rough and mountainous parts of Nepal proper, the chief population consisted of these Murmis who are by many considered as a branch of the Bhotiyas or people of Tibet; but although, in religion and doctrine, they followed the example of that people and all their priests called Lamas studied its language and science, yet it seems doubtful whether the two nations had a common origin; but this will best be ascertained by a comparison of the languages. For this purpose, I have deposited in the Company's library a copious vocabulary of the Murmi dialect. The doctrine of the Lamas is so obnoxious to the Gorkhalese that, under pretence of their being thieves, no Murmi is permitted to enter the Valley where Kathmandu stands, and by way of ridicule they are called Siyena Bhotiyas, or Bhotiyas who eat carrion; for these people have such an appetite for beef that they cannot abstain from the oxen that die a natural death as they are not now permitted to murder the sacred animal. They have therefore since the conquest retired as much as possible into places very difficult of access; and, before the overthrow of Sikkim, a great many retired to that country, but there they have not escaped from the power of the Gorkhalese and have been obliged to disperse even from that distant retreat as they were supposed too

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

much inclined to favour its infidel chief. They never seem to have had any share in Government nor to have been addicted to arms, but always followed the profession of Agriculture, or carried loads for the Newars, being a people uncommonly robust. Their buildings are thatched huts, often supported on stages, like those of the farther India" (p. 52-53). On the subject of the vocabulary mentioned by Hamilton, Miss A. Thompson of the India Office Library, London, has kindly sent me the following information: "I have not been able to trace a separate 'copious vocabulary of the Murmi dialect' but among the Buchanan-Hamilton Mss. here there is a volume of comparative vocabularies, Mss. Eur. G. 16. This gives in columns English, Hindi, Mithila, Khas or Parbatiya, Kirat, Eyakthumba, Magar, Murmi, Sikkim. The vernacular words are written in Roman and Nagari characters, and there are about 1, 759 meanings according to subject. There are 127 pages, 27 x 32 cm in size. There is another copy of this vocabulary, Mss. Eur. G. 24, without the English and written in Nagari characters only, with 151 folios, 51 x 31 cm" (letter of 10-2-65). On the inside cover page of the latter manuscript there is written in long hand:" This volume contains Dr. F. Buchanan's Comparative vocabularies of the Districts of 1) Punaniya 2) Runggopur 3) Bhagalpur 4) Behar and Patna".

12. I take these spellings respectively from the Tambā Kaiten, from another work by the same author entitled Syebu-Syemu, published at Darjeeling in 1959, and from Sherbahadur Gurung, Gurungko vaṃśāvali, Kathmandu, 1957.

13. Osnovnye problemy tibetskogo yazykoznanija in Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie, Moscow, 1958, No. 4, p. 103-112. Roerich groups together, on p. 104, the outlying dialects of the south-west of Tibet: Magar, Tamang, Lama, Gurung, Sherpa and "Cangi". Now if there are certainly jāt of Lama (this latter word when used by a Nepalese often means simply "Buddhist") among the Gurung, Magar, etc., one can scarcely speak of a Lama dialect; and it is absurd to draw parallels, with a view to making linguistic comparisons, between units which cannot in any way be compared. Moreover, I do not know what to make of the "Cangi" of Roerich. S. C. Das had noted: "The Tibetans and the Bhutias of Nepal and Sikkim call the Limbus by the name of Tsang probably on account of their having emigrated from the Tsang province of Tibet...the Limbu people were divided into three great tribes according to their original homes, Tsang, Kashi, and Phedah. The first branch from Tsang spread over Tambur Khola, Phalung, Mirva Khola itself, Mayiwa and Yangrub, being designated by the Tibetans as Tsang Monpa or the Limbus inhabiting the defiles..." (Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet, London, 1904, p. 4-5, n.). Das cites the Gazetteer of Sikkim, Calcutta, 1894, p. 36-38. Indeed, on page 37, one reads there very strange things about the "Lhasa gotra" of the Limbu. It is question of four brothers, the two kings, "U-ba-hang and Chang-ba-hang, and Kajung-ma and Gammi-ma: the first names have evident reference to the two Tibetan provinces of U (Lhassa) and Chang (Tashelhunpo); and in consequence of this latter, or because they came from the North (Chang lit. Pyang) the Limbu derive their sobriquet of Chang. Dr. Waddell explains that the name

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Limbu has been given them by the Nepalis; they call themselves Yakthumba (or Yakherds) and the Lepchas and Bhuteas call them Tshong (which in the vernacular means 'a merchant' and the Limbus were the chief cattle merchants and butchers of Sikkim"). Elsewhere Risley affirms that they were called Tsong because they had immigrated "from the district of Tsang" and adds solemnly "Lepchas call them Chang which may be a corruption of Tsong" (Linguistic Survey, III, 1, p. 283). To enable the non-Tibetologist to judge of this novel at its true worth, may I be allowed to point out that in Tibetan the province is written Gcaṅ, the north byaṅ, the merchant choṅ(-pa) and that these three words cannot be confused when pronounced.

14. Here is the passage: yul 'di (the reference is to Nepal) bod kyi chab 'og tu čhud-pa'i sña-rtags lta-bur yaṅ / khoṅ-cho'i khrod na caṅ daṅ gcaṅ yin-nam sñam / bla-ma daṅ ra-ye / rta-maṅ rta-dmag bya-ba zur-chags sñam-pa la sogs-pa'i miṅ-čan gyi dpa'-rcal ldan-pa' i mi-sde maṅ du yod-pa 'di kun/." One more indication that this country was previously under Tibetan domination is that among these people there are many groups of worthy warriors who bear names like Caṅ (is this Gcaṅ ?), Bla-ma, Ra-ye and Rta-maṅ (I think this is a deformation of Rta-dmag), etc"., We see that Dge-'dun čhos-'phel also puts together units of population which are in no way comparable, for instance: Lama and Rai. M.Y.I. Zhuravlev, Ethnic Composition and Problems of National Development of Nepalese Peoples, Moscow, 1964 (in English: p. 4 of the offprint) accepts without discussion Roerich's thesis and adds two misprints: rta-mons for rta-maṅs.

15. Tambā appears to correspond to Tibetan ston-pa "preceptor, master". Gçen-rab mi-bo is the ston-pa of the Bon-po in the same manner as Śākyamuni is the ston-pa of Tibetan Buddhists. It is from this same word ston-pa that derives the word which designates the sorcerors of the Na-khi of Sseu-tch'ouan: Dto-mba (J.F. Rock, The Life and Culture of the Na-khi Tribe of the China-Tibet Borderland, Wiesbaden, 1963, pp. 36-39). Kaiten is translated in the vocabulary at the end of the book (p. 85) by Nepali bhannasakne "capable of speaking": one thinks of Tibetan bka'i rten, "basis of teaching".

16. Rui which the author generally translates in Nepali by jāt but also sometimes by thar, apparently corresponds to Tibetan rus "patrilineal clan". However, in a Nepalese context, jāt can signify something quite different from "patrilineal clan". See Sir R.L. Turner, Nepali Dictionary, London, 1931 (henceforth: Turner), p. 213, q.v. Further on in the Tambā Kaiten, as we shall see, rui is also apparently equated with Nepali kul. Now Turner (p. 101) translates kul by "tribe, clan, family; pedigree, race". It is easy to see how translations from one language to another, made without taking into account the cultural context, can complicate rather than simplify the task of the sociologist.

17. Cyopge=tib. bčo-brgyad, "eighteen". But it is not without surprise that the Tibetologist who does not know Tamang sees chen translated into Nepāli by "name". The same equivalence is to be found in the vocabulary (p. 91) so there is no question of a mistake; so by

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Ruichen Cyopge, the author understands "the eighteen names of the clans". However, it appears difficult to separate entirely this designation from the Tibetan theory of the eighteen big clans: rus-čhen bčo brgyad. On the subject of this classification, see R.A. Stein, "Mi-ñag et Si-hia", in B.E.F.E.O., XLIV, 1.p. 254 and n. 2. The Tibetan words čhen, "big", and mchan, "name", normally are not confused when pronounced. When seeking to localise the Tibetan lineage of the Ldoṅ, taking into account the classificatory number Eighteen, Stein concludes elsewhere"...the number eighteen is consecrated by tradition and religion. It has been applied to too many groups for us to draw from this valid conclusions. What we must remember is the multiplicity and the dispersion of the Ldoṅ" (Les Tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines, Paris, 1959, p. 32). Indeed, the first name on the list of the rui which is given further on by Santabir Lama is that of the Gdoṅ which name, like that of the Ldoṅ, is pronounced Doṅ.

18. According to the vocabulary, tam. tām= nep. kurā, "speech, discourse" (p. 93) and tam. jikten = nep. manko, "of the spirit" (p.91). I think one must restitute Jikten tāmchyoi into Tibetan jig-rten gtam-čhos.

19. Ramā does not figure in the vocabulary. It is perhaps a real Tamang word and is perhaps the same word which Buddhiman Moktan in his Jikten tāmchyoi, Darjeeling, 1959, p. 11. writes hrāmā. For other aspects of Tamang songs, one can consult Satyamohan Jośi, Hāmro lok saṃskṛti, Kathmandu, 2014, Bikram Sambat, where year one = 57 B.C. (henceforth B.S.), p. 180-187, and Dharmarāj Thāpā, Mero Nepāl-bhramaṇa, Kathmandu, 2019, B.S., p. 30-45.

20. Kuldevatā must be considered as an interpretation and not as a translation of Tamang ruigi phola. Kul is given in the vocabulary as the equivalent of phola (p.99); however, the author sometimes seems to employ kul as if it were an abbreviation of kuldevatā. Unfortunately, we do not have even one description of the rituals of worship of kuldevatā among different ethnic groups of the back-country. Concerning the cults of "the valley", Gopal Singh Nepali has published some very interesting pages on the "Dewali" cult among the Newar (The Newars, Bombay, 1965, p. 333-334, 389-397, 404). On the Tibetan concept of pho-lha, see, for instance, R.A. Stein, Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet, Paris, 1959, index page. 635, s.v. pho-lha. Literally, the Tibetan expression pho-lha signifies "god of the males". Tibetan pho-lha and pha-lha "god of the ancestors" should not be confused; for this latter concept, see R.A. Stein, La Civilisation tibétaine, Paris, 1962, p. 70, 173-174.

21. Hvāi is also missing from the vocabulary. Jangbīr Bomjan in his Tāmāṅg gīd, Kathmandu, 1963, writes the word:vāi. One thinks of the Tibetan word dpe: "example, exemplary story".

22. Ved/bed does not only mean in Nepali, as Turner, p. 456 indicates: "the Veda, the sacred scriptures of the Hindus". It has also the vague meaning of "tradition". Cf. for instance Iṃansingh Chemjong, Kirātko bed, Kathmandu, 1961.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

23. In ordinary speech gāṁ dharma, "village custom" is opposed to paharko dharma, "hill custom, country custom". Is the role of the Ganvā to be compared with the functions of the "Gembu" noted by Fürer-Haimendorf among the Sherpa (The Sherpas of Nepal... p. 117 ss.) ? In Tibetan rgan-pa means "old man, elder". Das, Dictionary, p. 301, gives as one of the meanings of Tibetan rgan-po "the head of the village". For further references, see P. Carrasco, Land and Policy in Tibet, Seattle, 1959, index p. 306 under "village: headman".

24. Turner, p. 96, translates kuṭumba by "family, relations, esp. relatives of daughter's husband".

25. In fact, the Nepali text says: "Where are the horns ? Where is the tail ? Nobody could know this". Tāmang society is, therefore, imagined in the form of an animal.

26. As for the conservation of the Tamang language, one must regret that Santabir Lama did not at the same time find means to get his documents reproduced in Tibetan writing. For the habit which is becoming widespread in Nepal of reproducing non-Nepali materials in nāgari characters risks also to play a role in the disparition of languages and of dialects. It is easy to understand the reasons which lead Nepalese researchers to do this. Nepāli is the lingua franca of the country; the author who uses it can hope through his readers to touch indirectly almost all the population. But Sherpa materials, for instance, transcribed in nāgari characters by a Nepalese researcher who does not know literary Tibetan are of little scientific utility. One would like to see more regional diversity in the intellectual production of the "valley". Moreover the "nāgarisation" which is at present in fashion underlines the trend towards sanskritisation of Nepalese culture as a whole; and this sanskritisation is often in fact superficial when it is not artificial.

27. Yolmā is the Helmu or Helambu of the British maps. In Tibetan, one writes Yolmo. See A. Ferrari, Mkhyen-brce's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet, Rome, 1958, text p. 22a, translation p. 66. The geographical boundaries of this region are for me, at the present time, not clear. Many inhabitants of Yol-mo consider themselves as Sherpas and speak a Tibetan dialect; but this dialect is different from that which is spoken by the Sherpas of the region of Solu-Khumbu and these latter do not like to be taken for Yolmāli. It is at Yolmā that is situated the Stag-phug senge-rjoṅ of Milaraspa. See T. Schmid, "In the Wake of Milaraspa", Ethnos, 1955, No. 4, pp. 199-201. I visited the cave on the 9th January, 1962: the entrance had been blocked by a modern stone construction. Many pilgrims, I was told, come up from Kathmandu to the cave in the third and seventh Tibetan months. It is situated at an hour's walk from Malemchi on the eastern bank of the river. It is mentioned in the 'Jam-gliṅ rgyas-bçad of 1820, fol. 7a; in the Rje-bcun mi-la ras-pa'i rnam-thar rgyas-par phye-ba mgur 'bum, vol kha p. 28b-30a (translation G.C.C. Chang, The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa, New York, 1962, vol. II, p. 74) and in the Rnam-thar of Milarepa, vol, kha, p. 85b-86a (translation Kazi Dawn Samdup-Evans-Wentz, Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa, London,

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

1958, p. 237) where it is to be found in the list of six gsaṅ-ba rjoṅ, "secret fortresses (of meditation)". In a small Tibetan manuscript without any title which I copied at Yol-mo, the area is described as sbas-yul yol-mo gaṅ(s)-ra (p. 11a), "a secret country, Yol-mo, circle of snowy mountains". In point of fact, it is a region where the vegetation is relatively smiling and the charms of which were sung by Milarepa in the passage from his Mgur 'bum quoted above. There is also a sgrub phug of Rva lo-ca-ba, which I visited, situated 20 minutes to the south of Tarkhe ghyang; however, I did not succeed in identifying this cave in the rnam-thar of the saint.

28. The Kāgate are paper-makers: the word comes from Urdu kāgaz "paper". They do not form an ethnic group and I am not yet convinced that Turner was right to describe them as "a caste" (p.84). The Linguistic Survey of India, III, 1, Calcutta, 1909, p. 106, seems to me to be wrong to speak of a "Kagate dialect of Tibetan" before bringing forward proofs of its existence. Hodgson quoted by C. Horne ("Paper-Making in the Himalayas", in Indian Antiquary, VI, April 1877, p.96) said "...most of the Cis-Himalayan Bhotias East of the Kali River make the Nepalese paper; but the greatest part of it is manufactured in the tract above Nepal proper". I suppose that "the tract above Nepal proper" must be the region of Yol-mo. S.M. Sen, Hand-Made Paper of Nepal (Nepal Museum Publication, No. 2, Kathmandu, 1940, p. 2) writes: "Districts No. 1, 2 and 3 in the East, Baglung and Pokhara in the West, are noted for the manufacture of paper. This particular handicraft is never concentrated with any special caste. Tamang, Chettri, Brahman, Newar, etc., of the said localities earn their livelihood by this, whoever is in the know of this art". I myself have met Sherpa paper-makers temporarily living east of Malemchi. It follows from this that the localisation of these populations sketched out by our author is over-simple. Moreover, to go to Skyid-groṅ (in Tibet) many Yolmāli have to cross through areas inhabited by Tamang.

29. Turner, p. 423, translates barga by "class, sort; rank, kind".

30. I do not know who are the Holange, whom the author appears to separate from the Yolmāli.

31. It is useless to look up references in books which the author has not read. If he quotes titles of books, he does so primarily for reasons of prestige.

32. Tibetan sku: "body, image" (Das, Dictionary, p. 88-89).

33. That is to say the Mani bka' 'bum. This little history-lecture which is addressed to the Tamang public is not free from errors. For instance, Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po died in 649/650. R.A. Stein has recently stressed the "simplified picture" presented by sources which concern this king. He writes: "The Tibetan tradition which shows King Soṅ-bcan sgam-po building temples up to the boundaries of China and to the Himālaya is perhaps only a pious reconstruction", and he adds later: "One cannot help wondering: in 20 years, not only was the

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Tibetan alphabet invented: but writing was adapted to the Tibetan language in a very complicated spelling and used to write down these documents" (La Civilisation tibétaine, Paris, 1962, p. 31-32, 36-38).

34. The author implies that the populations concerned occupied at the time of Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po the same areas of Nepal which they live in now-a-days.

35. The equivalence is interesting; but the interpretation of the sociological content of the terms used is difficult. Elsewhere in this book it will be question of "wild" jhākri, of "civilised" jhākri, of jhākri from Tibet, from the plains, etc. It is probable that the word tantrik does not mean more here than "who uses magic formulae". For some provisional notes on Nepāli-speaking jhākri, see Journal Asiatique 1962, fasc. 1, p. 107-139 and my article on Nepal in Le Monde du sorcier which is at present in the press in the series entitled Oriental Sources. Specialists of this type are to be found in many parts of the southern Himālaya. See for instance, S.K. Srivastava, The Tharus. A Study in Culture Dynamics, Agra, 1958, p. 210-212: D.N. Majumdar, Himalayan Polyandry, Structure, Function and Culture Change, Bombay, 1962, p. 261-262 and R.N. Saksena, Social Economy of a Polyandrous People. Agra, 1955, p. 45-46; B.K. Shukla, The Daflas, Shillong, 1959, p. 102-104, R.R.P. Sharma, The Sherdukpens, Shillong, 1961, p. 75-76, L.R.N. Srivastava, The Gallongs Shillong, 1962, p. 107-108, T.K.M. Barua, The Idu Mishmis, Shillong, 1960, p. 72-76. There are Sherpa jhākri in Yol-mo where they are called Bon-po (photo in T. Schmid, Tantrisk mark, Stockholm, 1956, opp. page 56): those who sacrifice birds and beasts are Bon-nag; those who do not kill are Bon-dkar. The same man at different periods of his life can be Bon-nag and then Bon-dkar. From time to time, these Bon-po meet together, along with jhākri from other ethnic groups, accompanied by their faithful, so as to render worship to local divinities. In December 1961, on the fourteenth day of the eleventh Tibetan month, I was present at a meeting of more than 30 Tamang and Sherpa jhākri which was held right out in the country to the south-west of Yol-mo so as to render homage to a black stone which, I was assured, was the seat of Mahādeb and Gopaleṣor. The date corresponded to the full moon of Mangsir in the Nepāli system. I arrived at 1830 hours, the previous evening coming from the east. On the way, we had crossed many villagers who had put on their best clothes to go to the jātrā (as people said in Nepāli). The meeting took place in fields among which there were many rocks, and where later rice and maize would be cultivated. In the valley-bottom near the meeting place of two rivers, a crowd had assembled which I estimated at between two or three thousand people. They were getting ready to stay up all night (Nep: jagaraṇ). Everybody was very happy; and improvised traders were selling baskets, tea, jāṇṛ, sweets and buffalo meat. Tamang girls formed up into small groups to sing hvāi, timidly at first, but with more conviction as the night fell. Many friendship rituals (Nep. mit lāunu) were celebrated. When it was dark, Sherpa and Tamang dancers, encouraged by the cries of the public and warmed by alcohol, danced, in a stumbling way, on the uneven

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

ground. The Bon-po stayed together in groups of two or three, apparently grouped by villages. Each Bon-po/jhākri, helped by five or six particularly well-intentioned clients (generally women), built a pūjāthān made of a few branches stuck into the ground, and at the foot of which were placed flat stones which were supports for candles (generally 7) which were then lit. The Bon-po, clad in their ritual paraphernelia, drum and drum-stick in their hands, sang all night, in front of these improvised altars, creation songs, invocations to the divinities, hvāi. Backed up by their faithful and by copious libations, the Bon-po went on drumming until dawn. Then, as soon as it was day, everyone started to climb the long stair-case to the seat of the divinity which was in a little hollow on a very steep and wooded slope on the eastern side of the valley. At the top of the stair-case, which was protected for part of its length by a wall which formed a barricade and stopped the faithful falling into space, was to be found a black stone shaped like a pyramid. In the hollow, there was just enough room to allow a few people to stand there and go around the stone. Everyone, jhākri, faithful, spectators, did his pradakṣiṇā in a scuffle which was watched over by two or three policemen, smiling and powerless. There was an extraordinary scrum on the staircase where, at the same time, hundreds of people tried both to go up and to come down. Once he had reached the top and had done the pradakṣiṇā, each person put reverently some handfuls of rice on the stone, as well as čhaṅ, and a red substance which I didn't manage to identify but which the faithful who spoke Tibetan called bžugs-sa dmar-po. With their right hand they took the red substance from the surface of the sweating stone and rubbed it on their foreheads and cheek-bones. The Bon-po themselves took a little rice which they had separated out on the stone and stuck it on to the foreheads of their clients. While doing so, they said prayers for the long life and good health of these clients. There did not seem to be an order of hierarchy of arrival at the holy place and if, during the night, the Sherpas had grouped their altars a little higher up the valley than those of the Tamang, nobody seemed to attach any importance to this. People got to the stone as well they could; and one could see panic-stricken faithful who had been separated from their jhākri in the confusion. Once they had rendered homage on the top, all came down once more to the provisional altars and dispersed towards their villages in the four directions by groups which were sometimes accompanied by a Bon-po. They stopped often on their way to eat, to drink and to talk over the happenings of the night; drums were still playing, but only sporadically.

These meetings of jhākri take place else-where in Nepal and assume the proportions of very important religious manifestations. Meetings which are very well attended take place at Rikeṣor (40 miles to the south west of Kathmandu on the edge of the road which leads to India) at the full-moon of Cait, and at Gosainkund, Kumbhesor and Mahadebpokhari at Janai-purnimā. These meetings, which bring together mediums and the divinities which are incarnated in them should be studied thoroughly in Nepal while it is still possible to do so. I hope to return to this complex question later. For the moment, I think that what constitutes the essence of a holy place is

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

a dark stone out of which water comes. It is well known that meetings, certain aspects of which recall those which take place in Nepal, are held on both sides of the Himālaya. For a few references, see G. de Roerich, Le Parler de l'Amdo, Rome, 1958, p. 92-93; R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, 'S-Gravenhage, 1956, p. 421-423; L. Petech, Il Nuovo Ramusio, II, Part IV, Rome, 1953, p. 266, n. 225: S.L. Kayastha, The Himalayan Beas Basin, Varanasi, 1964, p. 260-261; Kulu and Kangra, The Tourist Division, New Delhi, 1958 (anonymous), p. 28-30; R.N. Saksena, op.cit., p. 41-43; R.A. Stein, Recherches sur l'épopée...Paris, 1959, p. 449-450 and my note in J.A., 1953, 4, p. 518-519.

36. Certain historical problems concerning the period in question have recently been studied by M.E. Haarh, "The identity of Tsu-chih-chien, the Tibetan 'King' who died in 804 A.D., " Acta Orientalia, vol. XXV, 1-2, p. 121-170. G. Tucci has advanced serious arguments for not accepting the historical reality of the "Nepalese" marriage of Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po ("The wives of Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po" in Oriens Extremus, Wiesbaden, Feb., 1962, p. 121-126). A legend concerning the marriage of Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po with the daughter of an Ahom king of Assam, is to be found in R.R.P. Sharma, The Sherdukpens, Shillong, 1961, p. 5-6. Cf. V. Elwin, Myths of the North-East Frontier of India, Shillong, 1958, p. 120-122.

37. More than 90 percent of the population of Nepal is illiterate and the populations we are concerned with here are no exception to the rule. For instance, in January, 1962, in the village of Malemchi, only one man, a lama, was capable of reading easily a text like the Rdo-rje gčod-pa (with the Lo'u bdun-ma the book which one finds most often in this area) and he understood it very badly. Tibetan books are often kept in houses in Yol-mo for reasons of prestige. Though the people of Yol-mo hardly ever read them, they are nonetheless Buddhists. They are Buddhists not only because they take part in collective rituals which require the active collaboration of members of the Buddhist clergy: individual morality is also strongly motivated by Buddhist teaching. The average standard of instruction in the monasteries of the area was probably superior 50 or 100 years ago to that of the monks of today. However, many of these monks were certainly Tibetan and not Yolmāli: the Buddhist missionary efforts which spread from Tibet towards the south, doubtless owed much to Tibetans who spoke but did not read the languages and dialects of Nepal. On the other hand it is difficult to accept our author's view that all the peoples of these areas used to speak and read Tibetan in by-gone days.

38, Cf. tib. rkaṅ-dmag, "infantery".

39. Cf. tib. rta-dmag, "cavalry". The Nepāli word tamak which means "pride" is pronounced in the same way.

40. I have not sought out this letter: but the incident must have taken place after 1800. It was in September, 1846, that Jangbahādur became the Prime Minister.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

41. One finds in the vocabulary (p.87) tam. gaṅ = Nep. ḍāḍā which means "hill"; tam. gaṅ seems to correspond to Tibetan sgaṅ, "hill". One also thinks of tib. gaṅs, "snowy mountain". However, the only word luṅ which one finds in the vocabulary (p.104) = Nep hāvā "breath". This luṅ obviously corresponds to Tibetan rluṅ "wind" and not to tib. luṅ "valley".

42. I do not know who the Simsyāba are. One thinks of Nep. sim "marsh". Perhaps "inhabitants of damp areas"? Nepal and the Gurkhas p. 128 mentions the "Saisapas, a tribe very similar to the Yolmo, but speaking a different Tibetan dialect".

43. This figure seems to me greatly exaggerated but I do not have at my disposal statistics which would help to get nearer to real figures. In this context, the Census of population, Nepal 1952-1954 A.D., Dept. of Statistics, Kathmandu, 1958, is not of much help.

44. On the role of the panchayat in present-day Nepalese politics, one can read L.E. Rose, "Nepal's Experiment with Traditional Democracy" in Pacific Affairs, vol. XXXVI, no. 1, spring 1963, p. 16-31. The works of this author reflect the theoretical opinions expressed by his informants, the intellectual élite of the valley. These latter often know very little about the realities of life in the hill areas.

45. Cf. tib. ǰo-bo, "master".

46. Turner (p. 515) gives muli/mūlī, "chief man". Mul in Nepali means "root, source, principal". Cf. the Tibetan expression rca-mi which Das, Dictionary p. 1008, renders by "principal man". See von Fürer-Haimendorf, Ethnographic Notes....., p. 172-173.

47. Cf. tib. sṅags-pa, "tantrist".

48. B.C. Śarma, Nepāli Śabda Koś, Kathmandu, 2012, B.S. p. 287, s.v. ghevā gives simply: bhoṭe jātiko antyeṣṭa kriyā, "funerary rituals of Tibetans". Turner, p. 160, says "obsequies of Murmis and other Bhotiyas". The 5th of January, 1962, at twenty minutes walk south-west of Tarkhe Ghyang (Yol-mo), I was present at a ghevā which grouped together 60 or so people. This yolmali ceremony seemed like a mixture of two rituals which are described separately by von Fürer-Haimendorf: the Napur (The Sherpas..., p. 234-238) and the Gyewa (ibid., p. 241 ss. where kong dzok seems to be tib. dgoṅs-rjogs). F.H.'s Napur seems to me to be Tibetan rnam-'pho, abbreviation for rnam-ɕes 'pho-ba. In the yolmali rituals there was an effigy of the dead person which was called gur (? Tib. thugs-gur: one also thinks of Nepali guriyā, "doll") dressed in Nepalese style with a khukuri in his belt and wearing on his head the military hat, the "Gorkha hat" of British regiments. The dead person had never been in the army. The effigy corresponds to the ten (Tib. rten "support" of F.H.). See the photo in G. Tucci, Tra Giungle e Pagode, Rome, 1953, opposite p. 65, and the descriptions of rituals in Secrets of Tibet, London, 1935, p. 90-110. Cf. also N. Hardie, In Highest Nepal, London, 1957, p. 84-86 and G. Gorer, Himalayan Village, London, 1938,

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

p. 352-362. Before the distribution of food to those who are present, the Yolmali rituals aim at sending the rnam-çes of the dead person to the paradise of Amitābha, the separation from the world of men being symbolised by the breaking of a thread of cotton. This thread, held by the mother of the dead person and attached at the other end to the effigy, was broken by the lama officiating and then rolled round the left third finger of the mother. With this exception, the rituals followed closely that described in Khumbu by Haimendorf. With regard to the name of the ritual which is associated with the distribution of food, one cannot fail to recall a description by Waddell, which is already to be found in the Gazetteer of Sikkim, Calcutta, 1894, p. 382: "Though it is scarcely considered orthodox many of the lamas find that the spirit of the deceased has been sent to hell, and the exact department in hell is specified. Then must be done a most expensive service by a very large number of lamas. First of all is done dge-ba or 'virtue' on behalf of the deceased; this consists in offerings to the Three Collections, viz. 1st: Offerings to the Gods of sacred food, lamps, etc., 2nd: Offerings to the Lamas of food and presents. 3rd: Offerings to the Poor of food, clothes, beer, etc. The virtue resulting from these acts is then supposed to tell in favour of the spirit in hell...". The Tibetans whom I have been able to question on the subject of the Tamang ghevä have all denied that there exist similar rites in Tibet itself which bear the same name. In this context one can quote a curious passage from the Čhos 'byuṅ of Dpa'o gcug-lag phreṅ-ba, vol. ja, p. 72 a where one reads : sňar blon-po çi-ba la zan-skal med-pas ňed rgya-nag čhos dar-bas mi çi-ba la bdun-chig yod čhos ma-dar-bas blon-po sňiṅ-re-rje zer-nas mi çi ma-thag-tu lha-mi stoṅ la 'chaï-ma bscal-ste bod che žes-bya-ba gçin-dge'i srol-bčugs čes byuṅ-no. It is the princess Gyim-çan oṅ-jo (Kin-tch 'eng Kong-tchou) who is speaking. On the subject of this princess, see above all P. Demiéville, Le Concile de Lhasa; Paris, 1952, p. 1-10, n.2. This is how I understand this passage: "previously at the death of a minister, no shares of food were made. Therefore, I said: "We, in China, where Buddhism is widespread, when a man dies, we do the bdun-chig (according to Das, Dictionary, p. 1027, the ritual of the 49th day after death). In Tibet where Buddhism is not widespread, I am sorry for the minister". From that time, as soon as a man died, offerings were made to a thousand lha-mi (religious people) of a snack called bod-che and it was thus that was initiated the custom of providing merits to the dead". This passage from Dpa'o gcug repeats a passage from the Sba-bžed (with the exception of the first word and the last bit of the sentence which are lacking). See Une Chronique ancienne de Bsam-yas, ed. R.A. Stein, Paris, 1961, p. 3. I am not qualified to take up the problem of studying the evolution of funerary rituals of Buddhist inspiration in China. However, long ago, these rituals were connected with the legend of Maudgalyayana (J.J.M. de Groot, "Buddhist Masses for the Dead at Amoy". Actes du 6e Congrès international des Orientalistes, 1883, p. 30 of the offprint). This legend forms the theme of a famous 'das-log in Tibet. H. Hoffman in his Märchen aus Tibet, Dusseldorf-Köln, 1965, p. 32-41, has just published the German translation of another 'das-log, where the practice of dge-ba seems to be attested. With regard to this story, see the materials grouped together by R.A. Stein

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

in his Recherches sur l'epopeé ... p. 401, n. 13, to which can be added a manuscript (which I possess) written in dbu čan, of 69 non-numbered pages, without any indication of the writer nor of the date at which it was written and entitled: Mkha'-'gro-ma gliṅ-za čhos-skyid.

To come back again to the Tamang, Buddhiman Moktān in his Jikten tāmchyoi, Darjeeling, 1959, p. 26, distinguishes 3 types of ghevā." 1) A morning ghevā (ek bihāne ghevā), that is to say, a ghevā which begins in the morning and which lasts until the evening. 2) A night ghevā (ek rāte gheva), that is to say, a ghevā which beings in the morning, lasts the whole day and generally continues all night until the same hour next morning. 3) A so ghevā, in which someone, either a man or a woman does his own ghevā while he or she is still alive". One thinks of the Tib. expression so-so'i "own individual", or again of Tibetan gson-dge "merit(s) for the living". Santabir Lāmā, on the other hand, while drawing some parellels between the Tamang and the Gurung, writes: mānis mardā-pardā garnu-parne kriyā-karmalāi yo duvai jātile 'ghevā'bhan-dachan, "with reference to the rituals which must be carried out at the death of a man, these two peoples call them ghevā" (Syebu-Syemu, Darjeeling, 1959, p. 10). I cannot at the moment consult the monograph of Bernard Pignède on the Gurung, so I cannot verify whether the word ghevā is used in Gurung country to designate such funerary ceremonies. One is certainly tempted to equate the Tamang ghevā and the Sherpa ghevā with the Gurung arghun of the Hand-book edited by C.J. Morris. As this last book is hard to find, herewith the passage in question (p.68): "The principal part of the death ceremony... is known as the arghun. If the necessary money is available, the ceremony commences on the first auspicious day after death, but it can be performed at any time and cases have been known when the ceremony has been post-poned for as long as twenty-five years after death. It is a very costly ceremony and the savings of a lifetime are often expended on it; for there is no doubt that a great social stigma attaches to those who, in the eyes of their fellow villagers and relations, do not carry out the arghun in a manner befitting the memory of the deceased and it should be noted that the near relations of the person on whose behalf the ceremony is being conducted remain at home during this time and do not take part in the various festivities. The arghun generally lasts three days. On the first day (an) ala (bamboo split at one end: a piece of white cloth is rolled round the split in which flowers are stuck) is constructed and then fastened by the lama to the top of the mourner's house. On the second day, a wooden effigy known as the pla is constructed. It is usually about 3 ft. high and is meant to represent the deceased; but no attempt is made at actual physical resemblance. It is clothed according to the sex of the deceased and in the case of women the usual gold ornaments and other jewelery may be put upon it. On this day everyone from the surround-ing countryside attends and there may be as many as two hundred people present, all of whom must be fed and given drink. Buffaloes, sheep and goats are slaughtered and dancing goes on all night without cessa-tion. During all this time, the pla is exposed to the gaze of the dancers, but the mourners still remain quietly at home. On the

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

following morning all go in procession again preceded by the ala and dispose of the pla by throwing it away in a ceremonial fashion. As at the time of burial, the ala is given to the officiating lama and, in addition to this, one lamb for each pla, if the arghun is being celebrated for more than one person, must be presented to the jhākri who have been assisting the lama". Brooke Northey and C.J. Morris in The Gurkhas, London, 1928, p. 199, call the ritual "Aghun" and write it thus in the index of "Nepali words" at the end of the book (p. 273). The word aghun is not to be found in Turner. Should it be related to the verb aghāunu which Turner, p. 5, translates by: "feed to the full" ? One thinks also of sk. arghya (N. Stchoupak, L. Nitti and L. Renou, Dictionnaire sankrit-français, Paris, 1932, p. 79: "a.v. which merits to be received with honour: particularly water presented to a host or, in general, oblation").

Much research remains to be done on these funerary rituals not only by ethnographers on field-work in Nepal but also by translators of Tibetan texts one of the urgent tasks being to interpret the difficult pages of the Vaidurya dkar-po to which attention was already drawn by H. Hoffmann in his Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion, Wiesbaden, 1950, p. 64.

49. Cf. tib. bla-ma slob-dpon, "lama, teaching master".

50. Cf. tib. dkon-gñer, "monastic intendant" (Das, Dictionary, p. 55). Compare the role of the nierwa in The Sherpas, ... p. 146-147.

51. Cf. tib. dbu-mjad, "choir leader" (Das, Dictionary, p. 910). See The Sherpas..., p. 146: umse.

52. This word recalls the lawa whose functions are described in The Sherpas..., p. 115-117. It is unfortunate that F-H. was not in a position to verify the spelling of the local words which he prints in italics: he himself tells us that "many Sherpas are literate" (p. 18), which I certainly would hesitate to affirm. However this may be, on. p. 117, one must correct mukiya to mukhiyā and taluqdar to talukdār; misir appears to be Tib. mi-ser, "serf" (Das, Dictionary, p. 962) and misar Nep. mijhar which Śarma, op.cit., p. 838, translates by gāuko ek kisimko mukhiyā, "a sort of village headman".

53. One is tempted to explain these two terms by the Tibetan čhaṅ, "beer" and čhu, "water". Buddhimān Moktān, op. cit., p. 26-30 also enumerates the personnel who are involved in a ghevā. He adds to Santabīr Lama's list the bon-po: the latter must hold himself in readiness to cure the sick and treat those who suffer from troubles caused by the simebhūme, "spirits of the marshes". (Turner, p. 608, s.v. sime).

54. Cf. Tib. rgyal-khrims, "royal law".

55. Che-riṅ in Tib. means precisely "long life".

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

56. Cf. Tib. mi-khrims, "law of men". S.C. Das, Dictionary, p. 172, quotes a Tibetan saying khrims la čhos-khrims daṅ rgyal-khrims gñis yod, "as for laws, there are two sorts there is the religious law and the royal law". R.A. Stein has called attention to the fact that in the Blon-po bka 'thaṅ p. 288b mention is made of čhos-khrims rgyal-khrims 'baṅs-rnams spyi-chis" "the religious law, the law of the king, and popular custom" (Recherches... p. 434). It is interesting to note the meaning of yul-khrims in The Sherpas..., p. 107: yul-thim.

57. Further explanations would be required before we could know to what extent this "sign language" is to be attached to the Tib. ldem-dgoṅs or to the sk. sandābhāṣā. See R.A. Stein, Annuaire, E.P.H.E., Section des Sciences Religieuses, 1963-1964, p. 52-53.

58. One finds in Das, Dictionary, p. 407: dus-chaṅ, "beer of bones"; p. 631: dur-chur/dur-chod, "food offered to the dead".

59. Turner, p. 16, "food, grain".

60. Turner, p. 502., s.v. mātri speaks of the "name of a class of female divinities" without enumerating the members of this class. S. Lévi, Le Népal, I, p. 386, said: "The only goddesses which deserve to be mentioned for their local functions besides the multiple incarnations of Devi, are the Eight Mothers (Aṣṭamatṛkā) who are supposed to be the guardians of Nepalese towns. In order of hierarchy, these are Brahmaṇī, Mahaeśvari (or Rudrāṇī), Kumārī, Vāisnavī, Indraṇī, Camuṇḍā, Mahālakṣmi, wives or energies (çaktis) of the three great gods which can, however, be reduced to one, since we have found also ... Mahālakṣmī, the çakti of Vishnu, combined in the same person as Kumāri and Kālī. Gunakāmā deva, the founder of Kathmandu, is said to have worshipped Mahālakṣmi and founded on her indications and under her patronage the new capital". These are, therefore, both town and country divinities. For other groups of mothers, see A. Macdonald, Le Maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Paris, 1962, p. 118, n. 2.

61. See Turner, p. 293 (triphalā), p. 21 (amalo), p. 423-424 (barro), p. 623 (harro), and, for more general information, E.H. Schafer, The Golden Peaches of Samarkand, Berkeley, 1963, p. 145-146, 312.

62. Cf. Tib. bsans-lha. "divinity (worshipped in) rituals of purification".

63. Cf. Tib. gser-skyems. See, for instance, R.de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, S'-Gravenhage, 1956, p. 401.

64. By their prudent universalism, these songs bring back to mind the invocations of the baksa in W. Radloff, Proben der Volkslitteratur der Türkischen Stämme Süd-Siberiens, Saint-Petersbourg, 1870, III, p. 60-66.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

65. Turner, p. 256, says "a small drum or tambourine". See for instance A. Lavignac, Encyclopédie de la Musique, Paris, 1913, t. I. p. 361-362; H.A. Popley, The Music of India, London, 1921, p. 123 and C. Sachs, Reallexikon der Musik-Instrument, Hildesheim, 1964, p. 104, s.v. dampha.

66. According to the vocabulary (p. 98) Tam. peng=Nep. bhyāgutā, "frog". I do not know of a Sbal rdo-rǰe in Tibet.

67. Turner, p. 646: Bauhinia variegata.

68. One could restitute the Tamang title into Tibetan sa-čhags gnam-čhags kyi lha, "divinities of the creation of the earth and of the sky". The reader will have noted that the Tambā calls these divinities on to his head. The simultaneous arrival, or arrival one after another, of several spirits on to the head of one individual always raises problems of repartition and localisation in the mind of Western researchers. It is not impossible that this same problem may have troubled local thinkers. Our author also does not speak of the headdress worn by the Tambā when he calls on the spirits. The Tamang and Sherpa jhākri I have been able to watch wore on their head at the time when they were officiating a band of cloth decorated with cauries and surmounted by peacock feathers; sometimes the band was replaced by pieces of red, white and green cloth which were plaited together, and surmounted by a strip of card-board decorated with the sun and the moon, with a mirror and with feathers on each side. In both these cases, this headdress was called rigs-lňa. Cf. F.H., The Sherpas... p. 256-257: ringa. A headdress of the same name is worn by Tibetan monks and the specific power of this headdress has been well stressed by G. Tucci who writes on this subject: "Essi sono composti di cinque piccole iconi tenute insieme da una cordicella o da una benda; ciascuna della icono rappresenta uno dei Buddha supremi: da cio appunto il nome 'di cinque famiglie' col quale vengono usualmente designati. L'imposizione di questo mistico diadema sta a significare che l'uffiziante si e immedisimato con quella forza cosmica germinale in cui si differenziano cinque linee di evoluzione, raffigurate simbolicamento dalla pentade suprema: egli quindi ormai unificato col tutto tiene sotto il suo dominio le forze dell'universo e puo operare il miracolo "(Indo-Tibetica, III, Rome, 1935, p. 80). Cf. D. Schröder, "Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor) Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 27, and J.F. Rock, A Na-khi English Encyclopedic Dictionary, Rome, 1963, Part 1, p. 200 and pl. X.

69. Tam. dorje gyāram is probably a transliteration of Tib. rdo-rje rgya-gram (Das, Dictionary), p. 304). If the terms are identical, vajra is an inadequate Nepalese translation; for this is a particular form of vajra. For a sample, see: Catalogue of the Tibetan Collection ..., The Newark Museum, New Jersey, 1959, vol. I, p. 38-39. The usual Nepali term is viśvavajra.

70. The readers of C. Lévi-Strauss, Le Cru et le cuit, Paris, 1964, will not fail to take note of the culinary image-the cooking-pot on the fire-which seems to loom behind this passage from Nature to Culture.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

However, one would have liked to have a more precise description of the fire-place: is it made of three stones or of a tripod ?

71. One looks in vain for the mundum in Turner and in the Nepali-Nepali Dictionary of B.C. Śarma. However, Kājiman Kandangba in his Nepāli-Jan-Sāhitya, Kathmandu, 2020, B.S., p. 103, explains that the mundhum (sic) contain traditions about the creation of the world and that they are sung by "dhāmī, jhākri, bijuvā, phedāngmā and baidānga". One will find in I. Chemjong, Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary, Kathmandu, 1961, p. 126: "Mundhum, dharmaśāstra, scripture".

72. Tib. Saṅs-rgyas rigs-lṅa, the five Jina.

73. Tib. car.

74. Tib. Lus 'phags-pa Saṅs-rgyas Rdo-rǰe sems-dpa' : sk. Videha, the Buddha Vajrasattva.

75. Tib. lho.

76. Tib. Saṅs-gryas Rin-čhen 'byuṅ-gnas: sk. the Buddha Ratnakara.

77. Tib. nub.

78. Tib. Ba-glaṅ spyod, Saṅs-rgyas Snaṅ-ba mtha'-yas: sk. Aparagodaniya, the Buddha Amitābha (in his dharmakāya).

80. Tib. Sgra mi sñan, Saṅs-rgyas Don-yod grub-pa: sk. Uttarakuru, the the Buddha Amoghasiddhi.

81. The Nepali word which I translate by "symbol" (naksa) is rendered by Turner, p. 333, "picture, sketch, map".

82. Tib. çaṅ-çaṅ. See Das, Dictionary, p. 1230 and G. Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, III, Rome, 1935, p. 79 n. 5. I have heard Tibetans identify the winged personage which is to be found on the left of the fig. 21, in D. Snellgrove, "Shrines and Temples of Nepal", Arts asiatiques, t. VIII, fasc. 2, 1961, p. 111 as a çaṅ-çaṅ.

83. Tib. Saṅs-rgyas Rnam-par Snaṅ-mjad: sk. the Buddha Vairocana.

84. This sentence reads like the transliteration of mis-understood Tibetan. Cari Gangri=Tib. Ca-ri gaṅs-ri, "the snowy mountain of Ca-ri". On this mountain see, for instance, T.V. Wylie, The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad, Rome, 1962, p. 94-96, 228 and A Place Name Index to George N. Roerich's Translation of the Blue Annals, Rome, 1951, p. 31; A. Ferrari-L. Petech, Mk'yen Brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet, Rome, 1958, p. 51, 127. Uisamyak=Tib. Dbus kyi Bsam-yas "(the monastery of) Bsam-yas (in the province of) Dbus". On this subject, see, for instance, A. Ferrari-L. Petech, op. cit., p. 44-46, 113-115. Lapci Chyukar must be Tib. La-phyi čhu-bar, a place where Milaraspa meditated. Demusum is perhaps Tib. sde-snod-gsum, "the three baskets".

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

85. The Nepāli reads as follows: Nepāl nevārī deś. In the vocabulary (p. 99) one finds tam. Boyul=Nep. Bhotdeś and tam. Bayul=Nep. Nevārko deś.

86. Simbu is the Nep. word for Svayambhu. that is to say Svayambhūnātha to the west of Kathmandu. On this site, see, for instance, H.A. Oldfield, Sketches from Nipal, vol. II, London, 1880, p. 219-246: S. Lévi, Le Népal, vol. II, Paris, 1905, p. 3-6; P. Landon, Nepal, vol. I, London, 1928 p. 197-202; D. Snellgrove, Buddhist Himālaya, Oxford, 1957, p. 95-98. Bauddha, where the stūpa is situated, is Buddhanātha (popularly Bodhnāth) to the east of the capital. Bauddha is often designated by the Tibetans simply as mčhod-rten, "the stūpa". On this subject, see S. Lévi, ibid., p. 6-8; P. Landon, ibid., p. 202-204; D. Snellgrove, ibid., p. 98-100 and H. Hoffmann, Märchen aus Tibet, Düsselldorf-Köln, 1965, p. 42-48 and 247-248. At Ulan Bator there was apparently a stūpa of the same name, the date of construction of which remains uncertain (N.M. Shchepetil' nikov, Arkhitektura Mongolii, Moscow, 1961, p. 169 and pl. 102). Nambutā is Mount Namobuddha situated a few leagues outside "the valley", to the south-east. It is there that the Buddha, in a former existence, is supposed to have offered his body to eat to a tigress. For a few literary and architectural references, see E. Chavannes, Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripitaka chinois, Paris, 1962, t. IV, p. 87-88.

The group of religious buildings and the hill on which these stand are generally designated by the Tibetans under the name of Stag-mo lus sbyin. I have deposited in the Guimet Museum photos of this site. It is mentioned, for instance, in the rnam-thar of Rva lo-ca-va (Mthu-stobs dbaṅ-phyug rje-bcun Rva lo-ca-ba'i rnam-par thar-pa kun khyab sñan-pa'i rṅa-sgra žes-bya-ba), p. 16 a, 29 b. For Rva lo-ca-ba, see A. Ferrari L. Pttech, Mk'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet, Rome, 1958, p. 98, n. 77. See also the 'Jam-gliṅ rgyas-bçad, fol. 5 b. That part of the text which concerns Nepal will shortly be edited and translated by T. V. Wylie who kindly allowed me to read his work.

87. One will find a description of the identification of Lake Mānasarovar (Tib. Ma-pham) with Lake Anavatapta (Tib. Ma-dros-pa) in the 'Jam gliṅ rgyas bcad of 1820. See T.V. Wylie, The Geography of Tibet..., Rome, 1962, p. 4-6, 56-59 and 121-123. In addition to the Tibetan text mentioned by Nebesky-Wojkowitz (Oracles and Demons of Tibet, p. 223, n. 1) one can also consult the guide to the holy places of that area which is entitled Gaṅs-ri čhen-po Ti-se daṅ mcho-čhen Ma-dros-pa bčas kyi sñon-byuṅ gi lo-rgyus mdor-bsdud-su brjod-pa'i, rab-byed cel-dkar me loṅ žes-bya-ba, and which is dated 1896.

88. This is a Tamang recollection of the theory of the Four Sons of Heaven. On this theory, see in particular R.A. Stein, Recherches sur l'épopée..., p. 241-314 and A. Macdonald "Note sur la diffusion de la 'Théorie des Quatre Fils du Ciel' au Tibet", J.A., 1962 fasc. 4, p. 531-548. For the hydrography of the area of Lake Mānasarovar, see Sven Hedin, Southern Tibet, II, Stockholm, p. 149-214 and the objections of S. Pranavananda, Exploration in Tibet Calcutta, 1950, p. 206-241.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

89. In the vocabulary (p. 87) Tam. Khambuling = Nep. Bhoṭ. The word Khambū is also employed, it would seem, to designate certain populations of Eastern Nepal. See Vansittart, op. cit., p. 96-97. Fürer-Haimendorf, for his part, writes: "The practice of referring to anyone who is not the member of a Sherpa clan as 'Khamba' extends even to certain persons believed to be of Gurung and Newar origin. Some of these reached Khumbu by way of Tibet, and Sherpas say that in their eyes anyone coming from Tibet is a 'Khamba'" (The Sherpas..., p. 25).

90. Tib. Rdo-rje gdan, that is to say, the Vajrāsana at Gayā.

91. The vocabulary (p. 108) writes Amarling. In the dialect of the inhabitants of Yol-mo, "Bar-ma" does not always designate political Burma. Sometimes in a vague way, it refers to India. For instance, many people leave Yolmo each year to go to work on roads which are being built in Assam and the N.E.F.A. It is said about them that they have gone to Barma. Indian contractors recruit these workers through the intermediary of the Cinia Lama at Bodhnāth. The latter lends money to the Yolmāli for the journey to Assam; and they must pay this money back to him with an interest within one year otherwise their possessions in Yolmo risk being confiscated. While on this subject, may I point out that the Cinia Lama is not, and to my knowledge never has been, "the representative of the Dalai Lama in Nepal" as is maintained by M. Lobsinger-Dellenbach, Nepal, catalogue de la collection d'ethnographie népalaise du Musée d'ethnographie de Genève, XX, 1954, p. 6 and 50 and T. Hagen, op.cit., plate 63.

92. See Vansittart, op. cit., p. 142-143. The name Gongbo comes twice in the list of rui given by Mr. Santabīr Lāmā. This author does not mention the "Kipat" described by Fürer-Haimendorf, Ethnographic Notes ..., p. 168. M.C. Regmi takes up the question of "kipat" in the third volume of his Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal, Berkeley, 1965, p. 81-135.

93. According to Fürer-Haimendorf, Ethnographic Notes... p. 167, "a horizontal division into Bara Tamangs and Atharajat Tamangs is probably of comparatively recent date. The former are believed to be of undiluted Tamang stock, whereas those known as Atharajat (literally 'eighteen clans') Tamangs are the descendants of Tamangs and Newar, Gurung and Magar wives. Their names are the same as those of the Bara Tamangs, but the latter consider themselves superior to the offspring of mixed marriages, and do not normally intermarry with Tamangs of Atharajat class". Unfortunately, the author did not furnish a list of the "clan names".

94. My notes do not enable me to control the statement by our author quoted above, that the same Kuldevatā are to be found among the Yolmāli, the Kāgate, the Tāmang, etc. I have noted the existence of the following rui at Malemchi (the local expression which is used most frequently is rus-pa): * Bya-ba, * Ghale (two thar: * Boṅ-so and * Kil-daṅ) and *'Os-pa. The family of the lama pretend to descend from the Tibetan family Lha-luṅ dpal rdo-rje. In my opinion, the

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

problem of the original relationship between the Sherpa of Solu-Khumbu and those of Yol-mo remains unsolved. I believe that what C. Jest (Objets et Mondes, t. IV. fasc. 3, 1964, p. 232) writes is wrong: "The villages of Yolmo... are all established on the high ground on the left-bank of the Malemchi". Malemchi and many other villages are situated on the right bank of the river. In the little manuscript mentioned in n. 23 above, the main summit of the mountain range to the west of Malemchi, parallel to the river, is mentioned (Jo bo cha-ti) as well as that which is on the other bank to the east and overshadows the village of Tarkhe Ghyang (Jo-mo dbyaṅs-ri). One would like to know the names of the "seven clans of which five are religious" mentioned by C. Jest.

95. One kind of grass. See Turner, p. 315.

96. See Turner, p. 50, s.v. uniũ.

97. Cf. La Vallée Poussin in Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. I, p. 187-190 and vol. 4, p. 129-138. For Tibet, see A. Macdonald in La Naissance du monde, Paris, 1959, p. 419-452 and A. Wayman, "Buddhist Genesis and the Tantric Tradition" in Oriens Extremus, Feb. 1962, p. 127-131.

98. See B. Laufer, "Loan-words in Tibetan", T'oung Pao, vol XVII, fasc. 4, 1916, p. 452, No. 19, and W. Kirfel, Der Rosenkranz, Ursprung and Ausbreitung, Walldorf-Hessen, 1949, p. 48 and 51.

99. See p. 135.

100. One is tempted to see in Khachyoi the Tib. name of Kaśmir: kha-che. One would rather have expected to find Kāmarūpa as the equivalent of Kāmāruling. If the orientations given by the author are often wrong, one must remember that few of the people who listened to him were in a position to correct his mistakes.

101. Hunting divinities. See J.A., 1962, I, p. 120-121.

102. Tib. Pha spre'u byaṅ-chub sems-dpa' brag-srin sgrol-ma. See R.A. Stein, "Les K'iang des marches sino-tibétaines, exemple de continuité de la tradition", in Annuaire, E.P.H.E., Section des Sciences religieuses, 1957-1958, p. 5-7 and the translations of W.W. Rockhill, Land of the Lamas, New York, 1891, p. 355-361: D. Snellgrove, Buddhist Himālaya, Oxford, 1957, p. 123-126; M. Hermanns, "Schopfungs-und Abstammungsmythen der Tibeter" (Anthropos, t. XLI/XLIV, 1946-1949, p. 817-823) and A. Macdonald, in La Naissance du monde, Paris, 1959 p. 433-439. The comparisons suggested by R.A. Stein between the K'iang and Chinese facts are interesting; but it does not seem to me that male or female monkeys play a main role in the legends of origin of all the Tibeto-Burmans.

103. Tib. 'Phags-pa Spyan-ras gzigs; sk. Arya Avalokiteçvara.

104. Turner, p. 532: "ogre, giant, demon".

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

105. One is tempted to restitute these three names in Tib. Lha-ma-yin, Byol-soṅ and Dud-'gro. For byol-soṅ, see Das, Dictionary, p. 893-894.

106. The celestial cow which grants all that is wished for.

107. Cf. Tib. rcis, "calculation", rcis-dpe, "astrological work".

108. Pho-ba is not to be found in the vocabulary where Tamang sāplā=Nep. pailo, "first" (p. 106). One naturally thinks of Tib. 'pho-ba, "to go, to migrate" (Das, Dictionary, p. 849). Cf. G.S. Nepali, The Newars, p. 125-126.

109. Literally "to tear off the tuft of hair". Is this the ritual which figures in the novel by John Masters, Bhowani Junction, London, 1965, p. 357-358 ? Cf. The Sherpas, p. 220.

110. I do not understand brimlā which is not to be found in the vocabulary. For ngova, one thinks of Tib. sṅo-ba/bsṅo-ba "to bless" (Das, Dictionary, p. 374 and 377). Fürer-Haimendorf (Ethnographic Notes..., p. 173) speaks of the dhami (sic); "a clan priest and head of the clan members living in the locality" who "conducts the worship of the Departed, and if he so wishes he can decree that a certain rite in honour of the ancestors known as ngo-ngo-lapa should not - as often happens - be performed separately by each individual household but that all clan-members living in the locality should hold the rite jointly. On that occasion, he makes four great 'towers' of cooked rice and gives them as offerings to the Departed. After the rite is completed, they are broken up and distributed among the clan-members". However, a ritual observed by the same author among the Sherpas seems to corresponds more closely to the preoccupation of the author of the Tambā Kaiten in the passage in question: "As the last action in the long sequence of mortuary rites, the chief mourner approaches the senior lama who conducted the shetu with a present of one measure of rice, one rupee coin and one mohar coin, and informs him of the amount he had spent on the funerary rites and could do no more. In popular Sherpa belief the lama is supposed to convey this message to the departed. This final act is known as ngo shop..." (The Sherpa, p. 245).

111. Turner, p. 183, translates Nep. cokhinu by "to purify oneself ceremonially after a death or birth" and samkalpa, p. 579, by "avowal (esp. in a religious ceremony)". See E.T. Atkinson, "Notes on the History of religion in the Himalaya of the N.W. Province" Part. 1, J.A.S. Bengal, 1885, No. 1, p. 1-2.

112. Cf. Tib. sbyin-sreg, "burnt offering".

113. In the vocabulary, p. 95, Tam. thāmālā=Nep. laukika which signifies "earthly, ordinary, worldly". In Tib. tha-ma la means "last, lastly".

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

114. This word is not to be found in the vocabulary. The sentence in brackets explains but does not translate the word.

115. In the vocabulary Tam. kilkhor=Nep. cakra (p. 85). Cf. Tib. dkyil-'khor, sk. maṇḍala.

116. Literally "painting of the universe". For the different possible meanings of brahmāṇḍa, see Śarma, op. cit., p. 772.

117. This word is not in the vocabulary.

118. One thinks of Tib. mčhod-dpon, "master of offerings".

119. The vocabulary (p. 87) translates Tam. Gānvā-gansum by Nep. budāpākā, that is to say "old man" or "old and experienced".

120. The word phuru is not to be found in Turner but Śarma, op. cit., p. 714, gives the meaning as bhoṭe jātile upayog garne kāṭhko bāṭuko, "recipient in wood used by Tibetan people". Cf. Tib. phor/phor-pa "bowl"; the form phor-ru is to be found in Das, Dictionary, p. 830. The word Nepali jānṛ is no doubt borrowed from Tibetan čhan meaning "beer". This loan-word is not in Turner, p. 932.

121. Cf. Tib. sku gsuṅ thugs, "body, speech, spirit" (Das, Dictionary, p. 91; G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Rome, 1949, I, p. 315). The explanation suggested between brackets shows clearly how certain syncretisms are created. At the start, there is the author's well-intentioned wish to explain a fact in terms of a system of thought different from that in which it is founded; but his readers, who know little about one of the systems in question, take his suggestions for real parallels, repeat them and end by worrying future generations of philologists and historians of religion. From the start, it should be emphasized that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvar are not necessarily, in this context and in the author's mind, the great personages of the religions of India. For there exists a Tamang myth about three brothers Brahmā, Vishnu and Maheśvar which is to be found, for example, in Nepal and the Gurkhas, p. 111-112. I heard this myth also in Kathmandu in 1962 with the following details: Brahmā became the ancestor of the Bāhun, Viṣṇu the ancestor of the Chetri. Maheśvar, the ancestor of the Tamang, was carried off by a ban jhākri and that is why he knows how to interpret the wishes of the Tamang to their divinities. Father Hermanns was right to compare this myth with another, which one can read in The Indo-Tibetans, Bombay, 1954, p. 21-22. I collected a variant of the latter myth at the same date. According to my information, the younger brother after having eaten the flesh of his mother became extremely strong and much more active than his elder brother. His strength enabled him to go up to heaven; he found there his mother and the latter gave him the Bed. The elder brothers, who had not eaten their mother, did not have the strength necessary to rejoin her. They became jealous of the younger brother. One day, for natural reasons, the younger brother had to absent himself from a ceremony at which he was officiating. The two elder brothers took advantage of his absence to

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

steal the Bed; and that is why one notes similarities today in the religious rituals of the descendants of the three brothers: the Bāhun, the Chetri and the Tamang. I hasten to add that the informants who related these two myths to me were Tamang jhākri.

122. Turner, p. 359, gives a list of five elements, pañca mahābhūt: kṣiti (earth), ap. (water), tej (fire), vyom (sky), marut (wind). Śarma, op. cit., p. 598 gives pṛthvi (earth), jal (water), tej (fire), bāyu (wind), ākāś (sky).

123. The material available does not allow us to get a clear idea of these practices. Nepal and the Gurkhas, p. 73, tells us that on the 11th day after death "if the ashes of the corpse have not already been thrown into a river, a bone is removed on this day and is kept for disposal in this way at some later date". Does this sentence apply to the Tamang ? Cf. for instance The Sherpas, p. 234. Fürer-Haimendorf tells us further (ibid., p. 245): "Whether a gyewa or a kor-chang was held, on the fiftieth day after the cremation the piece of bone recovered from the ashes of the fire is pounded to powder and mixed with clay. The resulting mixture is then moulded into a small model of a chorten or other sacred symbol, and deposited in a gomba, prayer-wheel house or minor sacred structure, and this rite is known as tsawar gyaup". The tsawar gyaup of Fürer-Haimendorf, seems to correspond to Tibetan cha cha rgyab-pa, "to mould a figure". For the rituals of making cha cha in Tibet, see G. Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, I, Rome, 1932, p. 57-60. S.D. Pant provides a curious note concerning Kumaon: "Of all the various ceremonies, that which is performed in honour of those deceased who have died far away from their native place is the most peculiar and interesting. After the dead body has been cremated, a small bone of the deceased person is brought back to his ancestral home by some of his relatives, in order to ensure that his spirit shall join those of his ancestors. The bone is wrapped up in a cloth and kept inside a box. Whenever the bearer crosses a ridge or a difficult portion of the track, he first lays a thread of wool along the track or the ridge in order to guide the spirit, and then proceeds, carrying the box containing the bone. The idea underlying this practice is that the departed spirit may experience insurmountable difficulties in finding the way home, but if the route is outlined with a thread, the soul finds no difficulty in continuing on its journey. In rich families a considerable part of the tract is so outlined, but among the poorer people only the difficult portions of it are thus marked out". (The Social Economy of the Himalayans, London, 1935, p. 227-228). Are such practices also to be found in Nepal ? For the disposal of the bones among the Newar, see G.S. Nepali, The Newars, p. 133-134.

124. English hand-note or rather note of hand "recognition (of debt)".

125. Tib. Saṅs-rgyas 'Od dpag med; sk. the Buddha Amitābha.

126. I was not present at Malemchi at the Tibetan New Year, but people told me that at that time each person receives in turn the blessing of the Bon-po and of the Lama.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

127. Tib. Naṅ-pa saṅs-rgyas-pa, he who has taken up the three refuges. See note 1052 by W.A. Unkrig in W. Filchner, Kumbum Dschamba Ling, Leipzig, 1933, p. 474.

128. Rongba is not to be found in the vocabulary. Tib. roṅ-pa means "inhabitants of the valleys". In Yol-mo, all the inhabitants of "the valley" without distinction - Bāhun, Chetri, Bengali, etc. - are called roṅ-pa.

129. Tib. smon-lam, "prayer".

130. Tib. mčhod, "offering".

131. The explanation of the word māne by the word chyorten is surprising. One expects the word māne to mean the walls or "the long piles of stones" known in Tibetan as mani or mendang/mendong (Das, Dictionary, p. 948). The word chyorten seems to derive (it is not to be found either in Turner or in Śarma) from Tibetan mčhod-rten (sk. stūpa). According to Fürer-Haimendorf ("Ethnographic notes"... p. 175-176) the Tamang build both "mani walls" and "chorten". The Tibetan names for these walls can be explained no doubt by the fact that the formula Oṃ mani padme hum is inscribed or painted on them. And the Tibetan mčhod-rten are often joined together by walls of this kind (G. Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, I, Rome, 1932, p. 13). In these circumstances, one might think that the word which signifies the wall had been used to described the mčhod-rten which it joins together. It is significant that Turner, p. 503, prudently translates Nepāli māne by "the monument over a Buddhist grave on a mountain top". The authors of Nepal and the Gurkhas mention māne walls among the Tamang (p. 113). A. Mostaert gives (Dictionnaire Ordos, Peking, 1942, t. 2, p. 453) māni: "tomb, body, bones, ashes".

132. Tib. srog-çiṅ, "tree of life". See for instance, P.H. Pott, Burma, Korea, Tibet, London, 1964, p. 226; G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Rome, 1949, I, p. 309-316; R.H. van Gulik, Chinese Pictorial Art, Rome, 1958, p. 504-506.

133. Mistake for ṭāya. For the Tibetan forms of the names of the divinities, see above.

134. Cf. Tib. rab-gnas, "consecration". See Das, Dictionary, p. 1168, s.v. rab tu gnas-pa; G. Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, I, Rome, 1932, p. 59 and Tombs of the Tibetan Kings, Rome, 1950, p. 35.

135. Das, Dictionary, p. 1182, s.v. riṅ-bsrel says: "small very hard glittering particles said to be found in the burnt ashes of certain (not all) holy lamas".

136. The sentence between brackets has been added by me.

137. Cf. Tib. gzuṅs, sk. dhāraṇi, "formula which binds, which holds". (Das, Dictionary, p. 1107).

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

138. Dursā is not to be found in the vocabulary. Das, Dictionary, p. 630, translates Tib. dur-sa by "tomb, grave": other translations are doubtless possible, for instance "ossuary".

139. Mero nepāl-bhramaṅa, p. 47.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

The Gaine of Nepal

It may not be appropriate to equate the gāine of the Nepal valley with the gāyana who figure in the list of the sixty-four castes drawn up by S. Lévi and L. Petech [1]. Sir Ralph Turner in his Dictionary [2] defines gāine as a "particular caste of begging singers" and compares the word gāine with the Bengali word gāina, "singer". Purna Harsha Bajracharya draws a distinction between "musicians (gāyana)... always members of the lowest castes" and "members of the Gāine caste" [3]. However that may be, the gāine of "the valley" laugh and tell you that they are the descendents of the gandharva, the musicians of Indra. The jest emphasizes a cultural fact: the gāine's outlook is impregnated with Indian civilisation and owes nothing to Tibet. These gāine still live at Kīrtipur, Pātan, Bhatgaon, Deo Pātan (near Bodhnāth) and in Kathmandu itself. They say they arrived in the valley with the conqueror Prithivi Narayan from Gorkha (sixty miles north-west of Kathmandu), when he took over the country in 1768. I do not know what their social position was at that time: it may be that they played the role of bards in the court entourage. They themselves say that it was only under the rule of the Rānās (i.e. from 1846) that their position deteriorated to the point where they became one of the lowest castes. Nowadays the gāine have to live outside the valley towns; moreover they do not possess any land. They live by begging. Only certain of the men and young people among them sing for alms, accompanying themselves on a viol-like instrument called a sāraṅgi [4]. Even when the gāine go on tour in the surrounding hills which they often do during the months of Pus and Māgh (our December to February) they have to spend the night outside the villages. Traditionally they are given uncooked rice (cāmal) as alms. However, the recent influx of foreign tourists has meant that certain groups, for example the group in Deo Pātan (8 houses and 27 people living in them, of whom 7 "work"), can extort sums of money, which for them are considerable, from the "Americans" visiting Bodhnāth. The gāines' only activity apart from begging is the rearing of a few goats and the sale of surplus white fish (asalā) which they catch. The native language of most of the gāine is parbatiyā (the Nepāli of the villagers). Many of them, however, speak Newari. For the most part they are illiterate. The gāine are endogamous and generally marry other gāine from the valley; I have only found one case of marriage to a gāineni of Salang (West No. 2).. The boy goes to his wife's home to fetch and bring her back to his house the following morning. Marriage between people of the same thar is forbidden as it is between blood relatives (nātādār). The gāine worship Pārvāti, Mahadeb, Ganeś and, above all, Sarasvatī. When they die, they are cremated according to the Hindu custom.

According to some reliable informants, the gāine from the Pokhara area (West No. 2) possess some land and cultivate the soil. These gāine must therefore have a way of life very different from those in "the valley", but I do not know them at first-hand.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

In late 1961, I recorded on magnetic tape a corpus of songs of the "valley" gāine, from which I am hoping to publish larger extracts at a later date [5]. As these gāine belong to a closed group living on the fringes of society, one cannot compare them, for example, either with the Mongolian bards, who came from all classes of society, or with the Indian rajahs' court singers, whose essential function was to flatter their employers. What is striking is the variety of the repertoire of the gāine. It includes love songs, the laments of widows and of unhappily married women, sad songs about the hardships and the transiency of life. But there are also songs built round different events, such as a famous murder, the conquest of Everest by Tensing Sherpa, the visit of the Queen of England to Nepal, the organisation of the elections, the death of King Tribhuvan in Switzerland, the journey of the Prime Minister Chandra Samśer to London, the wars against Tibet and Japan, etc. Such a synchronic section of the material can only give an idea, of course, of the present-day repertoire of the gāine. Besides I could not say with certainty if all the gāines' songs were composed by them. For if the gāine today borrow songs from all around particularly from certain political circles-Nepali writers, too, publish in their own name songs they have borrowed from the gāine. The gāine often compose their songs collectively in a drunken atmosphere which is more or less merry. It is difficult to establish who is the author of a song in a milieu which does not share our ideas about copyright.

It is because attention has recently been drawn to social criticism in certain modern Mongolian and Burmese writings, as well as in Tibetan texts, that I have chosen to note here this aspect of the gāine repertoire [6]. While doing this, I nevertheless concur with Mr. René Wellek's view that "social literature is only one kind of literature and is not central in the theory of literature, unless one holds the view that literature is primarily an "imitation" of life as it is, and of social life in particular ... literature is no substitute for sociology or politics" [7].

In one song which is certainly older than the other three which I shall quote later, a gāine asks a general to give him exemption from taxes in kind, and from labour. He explains that he does not even have enough ground to plant chillies. One must understand that he is a gāine and that he lives by going begging through the country. The soldier is dependent on the palace. The Sārki (leather worker) and the Damāi (tailor) are employed by their patrons (high castes); the Sunuwār (goldsmith) makes a living by working in gold, the Kāmi (blacksmith) by working in iron. Only the gāine dies in a hovel. He walks all day; his feet hurt him. He has only received fourteen grains of rice as alms. If he goes home his old wife will scowl at him. He is so hungry he cannot walk any further. In his house even the mice are starting to cry [8].

Criticism of society, which often blends with a criticism of life. finds expression in particular cases, at the level of the individual problem. Life in the village provides the framework for most of these problems.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

gāũle dāi gāũle bhāi ke dukha pāyəw̃ ni
sukha ko lāgi gardachəw̃ kāma jhan dukha pāyəw̃ ni
rājā jhan dukha pāyəw̃ ni
hiũdəy bhari paradeʃa lāgyəw̃ ḍhākara banera
sāhule linchan hisāb garī gharəymā basera
garīb lāi sādhəyko dukha gharmā kehi chəyna
koʃeli bhanchan guhār māgchan jyālā ta didəynan
duī cār halko ḍaḍheko pākho khanera jotera
ḍhuṇrāmā ragat jābimā māsu kamāi garera
duī cār muri bhitryāyəw̃ bāli prāṇ cha tyasəymā
tyasəymā nuna tyasəymā lugā sāhu cha tyasəymā
dhanīle khānchan masinā cāmal tin palṭa phalera
garīble khānchan kodāko geḍā jātāmā dalera
hirāko bār tarbārko dhār tyahi māthi taḍhera
dāridri sabko lāideuna pāro barābar dekhera
jo huncha thūlo pəysāko kūlo desī həy baṇālī
yaso garchu bhanchan ūso garchu bhanchan garīb ta kaṇāli
rājā ra dhanī garīb āi nāṇəy janmera
ākhir jānchan sabəyle choḍī nāṇəy marera

"In the village, my brothers, what misfortunes are ours. We work for a little happiness and we reap as much unhappiness, my friends, only as much unhappiness. During Autumn, having made our baskets, we travel through the country. The money-lender takes his money, does his accounts and stays at home. For the poor man there is always misfortune. They (the money-lenders) talk of bribes ask for help and give no salary. After working and ploughing the rocky slopes with two or three pairs of oxen, all we win is blood in the bowl, meat in the bag. We have harvested two or three muri [9]; they contain our livelihood. In them is our salt, our clothes; with that we will have to pay the money-lender. The rich eat the best rice, three times husked. The poor eat grains of kodo [10], ground in the mill. The diamond necklace and the sword-blade are above that; turning away from the poverty of all around them, they are indifferent to all distress. The person who wants to become important needs a flow of money, is that not so, strangers and Bengalis ? They say: "I'll do this". They say, "I'll do that". But the poor stay poor. The king, the rich man and the poor man (all) come naked (into the world) at birth: and at the end they leave, lose everything, and die naked".

Sometimes, however, the tone is raised and the international, political situation is described in terms not particularly sympathetic towards India.

sāila dāi nepāl gayo katā ləw garəna bicāra rājā gərana bicāra
nāṇā kəyti jhanda muni mantari banera
hāmro kalyāṇ huncha humna ləw na bicāra
bhoko nāṇo dura gayo gayo ni katā katā
gharko māthi ṭyāksi kaschan chakkəy parchu matā
ūtəy kāṭyo ūtəy luṭyo ʃānti katəy chəyna
ūjur garna jāũ bhandā niyā pāidəyna

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

dhotivālko rajāī bhayo kāŋresle gardā
rākhena āja kiŋle āja āphnəy rəyti mardā
ā̃khā māthi chāro hālyo kāŋresko dalle
diũsəy rāta pāri diyo subarŋako jālle
nəw nəw karoḍ āmdāni cha bhanthyo pahile kāŋres
āmdāni bhandā kharca dherəy bajet dincha ahile
nepāl mā je je parcha ḍilli nəy gaera
neharu sita binti garcha kiŋle nihurera
mulukī khānā sunne bhayo herana gaera
hālko bajeṭ hera sabəyle āja nəy kinera
tyāksi tirnu parne bhayo tāulo nəy becera
hālko bajet hera sabəyle āja nəy kinera
ḍilli bāṭa phəwj āyo cīna bāṭa bhoṭe
hāmro nepāl koriyā bhayo aba khāncha oṭhe

"My brother, what has become of Nepal ? Consider, dear friend, under the banner (of Congress) naked prisoners have been turned into ministers. Is this for our benefit ? Consider that. The starving man and the blackguard have gone far. Where, for example ? They put a tax on houses. I am astonished. There is murder here, pillage there; nowhere is there peace. If one appeals, one receives no justice. Thanks to Congress it has become the reign of the wearers of the dhoti. The king cannot stop it even though his subjects are dying. The Congress party has thrown dust in our eyes. In forging gold, they have turned day into night. First the Congress announced that there was a revenue of 90 millions; but now they publish a budget in which the expenditure exceeds the revenue. If something happens in Nepal, the King goes to Delhi, bows and scrapes and begs Nehru to help him. The Treasury is empty. Go and have a look! Look at today's Budget. Buy, and you will see! When you have to pay the taxes, sell your kitchen utensils. Look at today's Budget and do your shopping, all of you! An army has come from Delhi, and the Tibetans from China. Nepal has become a Korea: (at present) it is the blackguard who has food".

Here is one of the songs which best expresses the Nepalese's confusion as he faces the changes brought into traditional life by the opening up of the country in 1950. It contains a vigorous criticism of democracy such as the Nepalis have known it up till the present day.

hera hera dāju bhāi kasto vakkar ayo raja vamro nepālmā
nepāli lāi birke ṭopi panjabi lāi pheṭā
gəwcarmā bidesi āe cibe bhandā setā
dui pəysāko bhaṭmās khāi hātmā bānchan ghaḍi
gharma chəyna tāto chāro hīḍchan sāikal caḍhi
svāsni cāhī ḍālo bokī hīḍi hāli kalmā
logne cāhī kopara cyāpi sinemāko halmā
svāsni cāhī suruvāl lāi sinemāmā dhāune
logne cāhī sāri cori buskaṭ silāi lāune
āja bholika āimāi sinemāmā dhāune
jatā tatā herda kheri dui culṭhe kapālmā kālo dhāgo lāune
nepāli lāi birke ṭopi panjābi lāi pheṭa

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

āja bholikā tarunile lāñchan sāri setā
lyañchan bidhavā ḍhā̃cā
euṭā pustak cyāpikana iskulmā paḍhne
dui cār məyna paḍhdā kheri peṭmā baccā khelne
patibratā svāsni lāi dui hāte ṭālo
makhmal sāri ranḍī lāi pārchan mukh ujyālo
bhaṭṭi kuri jā̃ḍ raksi ṭhāḍo ghā̃ṭi lāñchan
gharmā svāsni bhokəy huncha ajha kuṭi ruvāñchan
tirtha jātrā garchu bhani birami poilāi chalī
joḍā milī ṭhaṭṭā garchan nānā rakam gari
āja bholikā āimāilāi prajatantra lāgyo
kamīj lāi suruvāl lāi pāuḍar ghasi sāikal caḍhi hīḍ yo

"Look, look, my brothers, older and younger, what a strange period has begun, my friends, in our Nepal. The Nepali wears a felt hat; the Punjabi wears a turban. At Gaucar 11 strangers have arrived whiter than crows. People eat two pennyworth of beans, but wear a watch on their wrist. There is not even warm dust in the house, but they ride bicycles. The wife, carrying her basket, goes to the mill. The husband puts the chamber-pot under his arm (sells it) and goes to the cinema. The wife wears trousers and frequents the cinema. The husband steals her sari, has it made into a shirt 12 and wears it. Today's women spend a lot of time at the cinema. Wherever we look they wear black cords in their plaits 13. Young women today wear white saris 13. There they are dressed like widows. A book under their arm they go to school. After a few months of studies, there is a little one playing in their belly. To the good wife the husband gives two lengths of material. To the whore he gives a velvet sari, making her eyes light up. Dallying at the bistro he gulps down beer and alcohol. The wife stays at home starving. When he comes home he beats her again until she cries. When the husband is ill and in bed (the wife) says she is going on pilgrimage. She finds a friend, flirts with him, and does many other things besides. The women of today have been made democratic. They wear shirts and trousers, make themselves up and ride around on bicycles".

NOTES

1. S. Lévi, Le Népal, I, Paris, 1905, p. 234 and p. 238 n. I; L. Petech, Medieval History of Nepal, Rome, 1958, p. 182. Cf. D. Wright, History of Nepal, Cambridge, 1877, p. 185-6.

2. R.L. Turner, A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language, London, 1931, p. 138.

3. T.O. Ballinger and Purna Harsha Bajracharya, "Nepalese Musical Instruments", in SWJA, vol. 16, no. 4, Albuquerque, 1960, p. 398 and 402.

4. For a recent description of the sāraṅgi, see T.O. Ballinger and Purna Harsha Bajracharya, loc.cit. I shall return to the subject elsewhere.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

5. I should like to thank the Bollingen Foundation of New York for awarding me a Fellowship which enabled me to do this research. In collaboration with my musicologist colleague of the C.N.R.S., Mireille Helffer, I hope to publish later the complete text, with a French translation and the musical notation of about twenty songs.

6. For Mongolia, see W. Heissig, "Die Schwanke des "verruckten" Sardar" in Studia Sino-Altaica, Wiesbaden, 1961, p. 92-101 and Helden-, Hollenfahrts und Schelmengeschichten der Mongolen, Zurich, 1962, p. 269-300, 310-312; for Burma, see Denise Bernot, "Quelques tendances actuelles de la littérature birmane" in Revue de l'Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales, vol. I, Paris, 1964, p. 159-179. For Tibet, see R.A. Stein, Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde an Tibet, Paris, 1959, p. 490-493, 529 n. 5, 404 n. 23.

7. René Wellek and Austin Warren, Theory of Literature, London, 1963, p. 109.

8.

rasvad māph garāi pāũ jarnel sāheb
khetīko nāmmā prabhū khorsānī ropne ṭhāũ chəyna
jāt bujhana gāine jagat muluk māgī prāṇ rahēcha
jhārā bheti māph garāi pāũ
darbār basne sipāhi prabhū
bisṭa kamāi khāne sārki damāi
sun cuṭne sunuwār phalām cuṭne kāmi
bhitra khoprā marne matrəy gāine
diũsa bhari ḍulchu prabhū goḍa dukhchan merā
dayā dinchan cəwdhavaṭā geḍā
gharmā jāũ bhane buḍhi gainenile ãkhā lāũche ṭeḍā
bhokle lagdəynan goḍā rām
ghar bhari musā runa thālchan

In transliterating the songs I have tried to follow the system suggested by T.W. Clark in his Introduction to Nepali, Cambridge, 1963, while attempting at the same time to convey the singers' pronunciation: hence Neharu, kāma, nuna, etc.

9. As Sir R. Turner indicates in his Dictionary, p. 514, a muri is "a measure of weight equivalent to two maunds (man), about 160 lbs". Cf. M. Meerendonk, Basic Gurkhali Grammar, Kuala Lumpur, 1959, p. 245. One does not say "two or three" in Nepali, but "two or four".

10. Eleusine indica.

11. Gaucar, which means "pasture for cattle", is the name of the place where the airfield at Kathmandu is situated. It was there that the Indian troops, whose complexion is the target of the singers' wit, were stationed.

12. I take buskat to be the English word bushcoat.

13. Previously this was how widows dressed.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Remarks on Nepali Sung Verse

In Memory of A.A. Bake

The material available to us for the study of Nepalese music is still very fragmentary. Before 1950 few Europeans had visited Nepal and among those who had, none had given enough attention to its music to make any systematic observations on the subject. If we attempt to give an account of our knowledge in this field, it will be limited on one hand to a few notes about the musical instruments, particularly the instruments used by the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley [1], and on the other hand to the publications of the texts of songs collected mainly from among soldiers of the Anglo-Indian army, most of whom belonged to the Magar and Gurung ethnic groups [2]. During the last decades the Nepalese themselves have performed a considerable task in collecting in situ the texts of songs which until then had been passed down orally; a particular effort has been made in this field by Dharma Rāj Thāpā, Satya Mohan Joshī and the instigators of the review Dāphe Cari [3]. However, the publications in the vernacular are often not easily accessible to Western readers. They usually have only a small circulation and do not reach as far as Europe with any regularity.

We will not therefore enlarge here upon the conditions of work and the methods adopted in these indigenous investigations. If, leaving the field of printed texts, one wants to get an idea of the musical structure of the songs, the sources of information are even poorer and do not usually inspire a great deal of confidence because either the collector was not a musician [4], or if he was a musician, he was not able to collect the texts himself but had to have them reconstituted from a phonetic notation made in the field or by taking the information from someone other than the singer[5]. We are therefore obliged to have recourse to the recordings which deserve that appelation and have been made in the last ten years. These provide full and irrefutable musical documentation but have not yet been analysed at all. We should note in this connection the recordings made by A.A. Bake on the occasion of King Mahendra's coronation (1955-1956) and kept at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London [6] or those which our late lamented colleague Bernard Pignède made in Gurung country in 1957 [7] and which are kept in the music section of the Musée Guimet (Gu BM 65-7-1 to 65-7-6).

When we examine these various sources it becomes clear that in the field of music, as in so many other fields of Nepalese culture, there has been a long-standing Indian influence. A number of the musical instruments in use have Indian names. The terminology relating to classical music is Indian even if the rāg and the tāl which are used differ from those currently employed by the musicians of Northern India; the songs connected with Hindu worship are called, as in Northern India [8], bhajan, stuti, mālsiri git [9], etc. To this traditional influence has been added the enormous volume of Indian radio broadcasts and films.

A proper inventory of the repertories of different ethnic groups or different social groups has not yet been made. Nevertheless it would seem

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

that a special place should be given to the professional musicians whom the Nepalese call gāine. One of us had the opportunity of drawing attention to one aspect of the songs of the gāine from the Valley [10], and together we have published a short note concerning the sārangī, the instrument played by the gāine [11]. The songs which we shall give here are a selection from the repertory of the gāine of the Valley and in particular of one of them, Magar Gāine. All these songs were recorded during the last three months of 1961. All of them are in the form of an accompanied monody, performed without the help of a text or a musical score. We have had to omit songs in the Newari language (because of our ignorance of that language); and we have not included songs which were too obviously connected with Indian culture [12] with the exception of 13, I/I, which is a nirgun bhajan, and of 13, I/I bis. These songs, which nowadays are not connected with any particular circumstances illustrate from the point of view of their text the three functions of poetry suggested by Roman Jakobson [13].

a) Emotive function (lyrical poetry based on the first person)

8. 1/3: Lament of the unhappily married woman

10. I/3: Lament of a gāine (cf. "Un aspect des chansons...", art. cit., p. 190-191, and n.8: Clark's system of transliteration).

10. 11/2: A widow's song

11. 1/2: 'Jānna ni āmā jānna ni...'.

11. 11/6: Lament of a young woman

12. 1/6: The poor farmer (cf. ibid., p. 191-192)

13. 11/1: 'phakāī phakāī lagyo...'.

13. 11/2: 'Uḍeko caṅga sita...'.

13. 1/7: 'Mero māyā chainaki...'.

b) Conative, exhortatory or supplicatory function (poetry of the 2nd person)

7. 11/3: Departure for the War

12. 1/2: Political criticism (cf. ibid., p. 192-193).

12. 1/7: Fashion Today (cf. ibid., p. 193-194).

13. 1/1: 'Nirgun'.

13. 1/Ibis: 'cār din basnalāi...'.

13. 1/2: 'Svatantrako nārāle āja...'.

13. 1/3: The first elections

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

c) Referential function (epic poetry based on the 3rd person), this function being fulfilled by songs of the karkhā 14 type in which the gāine singers relate historical events or sing panegyrics of some great character:

9. 1/2: The Death of Tribhuvan (1955).

8. 11/9: The end of the Koirala Ministry (1960).

13. 1/4: The death of Janaklāl

We would also point to the existence of karkhā relating to the establishment of Prithivi Narayan in the Valley (1768), to the Prime Minister Jang Bahādur, to praise of Bir Samser, to the journey of Chandra Samser to London.

Songs 10, 1/4, 12, 11/3 and 14, 1/6 are difficult to class under one of these headings.

NOTES

1. See A. CAMPBELL, "Notes on the musical instruments and agricultural and other instruments of the Nepalese", Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1837, 6, p. 953-956; M. LOBSIGER DELLENBACH, "Recherches ethnologiques au Népal", Le Globe, Genevā, 1953-1954, p, 107-117; and Catalogue de la collection d'ethnographie népalaise au Musée d'Ethnographie de la ville de Genève, Geneva, 1954, p. 180-190; Th. O. BALLINGER and PURNA HARSHA BAJRACHARYA,,"Nepalese musical instruments", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 1960, Winter, p. 398-416.

2. R.L. TURNER, "Specimens of Nepali", Indian Antiquary, 1921, 50, p. 84-92; and "Further specimens of Nepali", Indian Antiquary, 1922, 51, p. 41-49 and 61-66; W.BROOKE NORTHEY, The land of the Gurkhas, Cambridge, s.d.p. 122-124; D. FORBES, The heart of Nepal, London, 1962, chap. XIII: 'The song of the villages', p. 149-160. Although Tibetan music is also heard in Nepal, we will not deal with it in this article as its influence on the music of the gāine is almost nil.

3. We were able to consult the following works: Satya Mohan JOSHI, Nepāli lokgīt: ek adhyayan, Pātan, 1956; Kājimān KANDANGBA, Nepāli jana sāhitya, Royal Nepal Academy, 2020, B.S.; Dharma Rāj Thapa, Mero Nepāl bhramaṇa, Nepal Press, 2018, B.S.; and Hāmro lokgīt, a publication of Radio Nepal which contains a selection of songs which are grouped geographically, Kathmandu, 2020, B.S.

4. G.W.P. MONEY, Gurkhali manual, Bombay, 1942: text and notation of 14 songs, p. 206-229.

5. Cf. e.g. W. KAUFMANN, "The folk-songs of Nepal" (Ethnomusicology, 1962, VI (2), p. 93-114), to which may be added A. PERCIVAL, "The music of Nepal', in R.N.W. BISHOP, Unknown Nepal: an anthology London, 1952, p. 115-124.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

6. We should like to thank N.A. Jairazbhoy who, in 1965, made it possible for us to listen to these entire recordings, and who took it upon himself to copy a selection.

7. A part of the recordings was published by B. Pignède himself under the titles: Au pied de l'Annapurna, Chant du Monde, LDS 8245, 25 cm, 33 t; and Chants du Népal, Chant du Monde, LDY 4174, 17 cm, 33 t. Among recent recordings which are available commercially, we will quote, in chronological order: Songs and dances of Nepal, recordings by C. Cronk made in 1952, mainly in a thakali milieu, Ethnic Folkways Library, FE 4101, 30 cm, 33 t; Musiques du Népal et du Tibet, recordings made by R. Vernadet assisted by R. Desmaison during the course of the French expedition to Mt. Jannu in 1962, Club national du disque, CND 1006, 25 cm, 33t; Tibet - Népal, Buddhist lamaist music, ritual and profane music, documents collected and recorded by C. Jest during the course of several field-trips for the Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, Boite à Musique, LD 104 (A), 30 cm, 33 t. Note also a private edition: Chants au pied de l'Annapurna, songs of the gāine and of religious offices, recorded by R. de Milleville in 1966, 17 cm, 33 t. Finally, several recordings made by R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz in Nepal are catalogued in the Katalog der Tonbandaufnahmen BI bis B 3000 des Phonogrammarchives der Österreiche Akademie der Wissenschaft im Wien, Vienna, 1960, under the nos. 2514 to 2523.

8. Chitta DHAR HRDAYA, Nepalese Music, transl. by Thakurlal Manandhar, Kathmandu, 1957, Nepal-Basha, series no. 20.

9. R. TURNER: bhajan 'a song of worship, hymn' (Nepali dictionary, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1931, p. 465); stuti 'hymn of praise, hymn' (p. 625); mālsiri 'the name of a particular tune sung during the Durgā-pūjā festival, (p. 506).

10. "Un aspect des chansons des Gāine du Népal", in Essays offered to G.H. Luce by his colleagues and friends in honour of his 75th birthday. I: Artibus Asiae, Ascona, 1966, p. 187-194.

11. "Sur un sārangi de Gāine", Objets et Mondes, 1966, VI (2), Summer, p. 133.

12. For example extracts from the Mahābhārata (10, 11/2) or the Rāmāyana (10, 1/7 and 12, 11/6). The numbering of the songs is the same as that of the original recordings by A.W. Macdonald, made on a Butoba tape-recorder 9,5 cm/s, double track. The first figure indicates the number of the tape, the Roman numeral the track and the third figure the order of the pieces on the track in question. All the recordings are stored in the Musical Section at the Musée Guimet.

13. Essais de linguistique générale, translated and prefaced by N. Ruwet, Paris, Ed. de Minuit, 1963, chap. XI, p. 209-248.

14. karkhā: according to TURNER (Dictionary, p. 77) these are songs composed in honour of an event or a person, and the word originated

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

in the Punjab. The Indian origin of Karkha is confirmed by the English musicologist FOX STRANGWAYS (The Music of Hindostan, Oxford, 1914, p. 300) and, in a recent publication, Alain DANIELOU (Inde du Nord, Buchet-Chastel, 1966, p. 129, coll.: 'Les Traditions musicales') confirms: ' The karkhā(s) are war songs from the Rajput and Gujerat country. Based on court poems, they are mentioned already in the Ain-i-Akbari...Among the professional singers, who are becoming rare today, we should mention the hurkiya(s) who sing the karkhā(s)'. A contemporary Nepalese author, Satya Mohan Joshi (Hāmro lok saṁskriti, p. 145) says the karkhā were designed to encourage the warriors on the field of battle. The Nepalese specialist on the gāine, Dharma Rāj Thapa, maintains that the karkhā express the feelings of the gāine at the time of various events (op. cit., p. 141). In his Nepāli-Nepāli Dictionary, B.C. Śarma gives s.v. karkhā: kunai vīrata vā vīspurusākā praśamsā vā samjhanāma bānaera gāine viśekh prakāsko gīt 'songs of a particular type composed to be sung in order to commemorate or to praise heroic actions or a particular hero'. Nevertheless R.C. DHUGANA, in his Samksipta Nepāli Koś (Kathmandu, 2020, B.S.), s.v. karakhā, gives: vīrharuko prasamsāko gīt - gāine gīt 'song in praise of heros - song of gāine' Whichever the case, today the karkhā are sung by the gāine specially the older among them, and one could apply to them the definition that the Roumanian folklorist, Elia COMISEL, gave to the ballads of her country (Colloques de Wégimont II, 1958-1960, p. 38): narrative song - non-occasional - of declamatory nature - born of the circumstances of life - reflecting the ideas and sentiments of the people.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Tape 8, 1/3

Poile malāi ṭhaṭāyo hera / kaṭ kaṭ kaṭa[1] dārānai kiṭera (bis)

hijo diũso ghaṭṭa jãdā pālo maile pāinã (bis)
pini sakdā rāt paryo ma pharkera āinã

candramāko kiraṇ sabai bādalūle ḍhākyo
ghara pharkũ bhandā bhandai barkhā kālle rokyo (bis)

ke samjhera ṭhaṭāyo malāi / kaṭ kaṭ kaṭa dārānai kiṭera
poile malāi ṭhaṭāyo hera / kaṭ kaṭ kaṭa dārānai kiṭera (bis)

tyahi kholāko sulelimā misāera bolī
bilanāko bhābanāle bhijāera colī

mukurĩdai kurẽ maile ghaṭṭerāko chāpro
pānī sita nilẽ bābā[2] tyo roṭiko ṭāṭo[3]

ādhā roṭī ãtāko ãtaimā[4] / poile kuṭyo malāi ḍhukuṭi[5] khāṭaimā (bis)
poile malāi ṭhaṭāyo hera / kaṭ kaṭ kaṭa dārānai kiṭera (bis)

jhismisemā ghara āũdā bhitra pasna pāina (bis)
citharera marna aũdā guhār maile lāina

kasto gharmā diechau ni kaṭhai mero bābā
sukh śanti kahile hoina sādhai hāvā dāvā[6]

poile malāi ṭhaṭāyo hera / kaṭ kaṭ kaṭa dārānai kiṭera (bis)

pāe jati chorā chorī puku puku[7] marne
basnu khānu gharmā chaina maile kaso garne

chorā chorī maruvāilāi[8] narakhne re gharmā
namarne cāhī bihā garchu pãc paisāko darmā

laijā carī yo khabar māitīlāi sunāide / budhabār bihāna bābu lina sabera
poile malāi ṭhaṭāyo hera / kaṭ kaṭ kaṭa dārānai kiṭera (paṭhāide

1. kaṭ kaṭ kaṭa is an anukaran expression which makes the noise of grinding teeth.

2. We take bābā to mean 'father'. One should perhaps correct bābā to bārbar (TURNER op. cit., p. 434: ' a particular kind of small cake made of flour and ghee').

3. ṭāṭo has several meanings in Nepāli: rotiko ṭāṭo in Kathmandu means 'bread', but ragatko ṭāṭo means 'blood stain', masiko ṭāṭo 'ink stain', mukhko ṭāṭo 'trace' etc.

. ãt designates the low wall which separates the kitchen with the fire in it from another room. ãtako ãtaimā is emphatic: 'on the very wall' cf. expressions like gharko gharaimā 'in the very house We have added "I left' which is not in the text. Maybe the husban found the piece of bread which she had brought in from outside and this is why he beat her.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

LAMENT OF THE UNHAPPILY MARRIED WOMAN:

See how my husband beat me, gnashing his teeth! (bis)

Yesterday afternoon when I went to the water mill I could not get a turn. (bis)
When I came to grinding it was already getting dark, and I did not return home.
The moonbeams were completely hidden in the clouds.
When I said I would go home, I was stopped by the rain. (bis)

Thinking I know not what (about me), he beat me, gnashing his teeth.
See how my husband beat me, gnashing his teeth! (bis)

There my words mingled with the murmuring of the water
And my blouse was soaked by the sadness of my thoughts.
Agitated, I waited in the miller's hut.
I swallowed a piece of bread, father, with some water.

(I left) half the bread on the wall of the kitchen. My husband beat me on the storehouse bed. (bis)

See how my husband beat me, gnashing his teeth! (bis)

At dawn when I arrived at the house I could not go in. (bis)
When he caught hold of me I did not cry for help.
What kind of a house have you given me to, father ?
There is never any peace or comfort, always confusion.

See how my husband beat me, gnashing his teeth! (bis)

All my sons and daughters have died one after the other.
I can neither sit down nor eat in this house. What am I do do ?
He says, "There is no place in the house for one whose children all die.
I can have a wife whose children do not die for the price of five paisa".

O bird, take this message to my parents.
Send my father to fetch me early Wednesday morning.
See how my husband beat me, gnashing his teeth!

5. ḍhukuṭi, as Turner points out (Turner, op. cit., p. 267), means 'storehouse, barn, treasury'.

6. hāvā dāvā; TURNER, op. cit., p. 637: hālla-hulla/hārra/hurra 'great confusion, noisy bustle', and p. 633: halla-khalla 'confusion, uproar'.

7. puku puku, according to ŚARMA, Nepāli śabda koś, Kathmandu, 2012, B.S., p. 651: puku-puku = dhamādham, which according to TURNER (op. cit., p. 324), means: 'incessantly, without intermission'.

8. For maruvā, TURNER gives (op. cit., p. 494) : 'a particular disease of the womb, which causes the death of the child in it'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Tape 10, 11/2

Umeraimā poi maryo mero / yo gharnai lāgdacha ãdhyāro

varī parī ghumī ghumī karāũchan kāvā
gharai heryo jagai chaina khāli ṭhiñgo pauvā

sir mero ãdhyāro cha chaina rāto ṭiko[1]
bidhvā bhāī basnu bhandā baru marnu niko

Umeraimā poi maryo mero / yo gharnai lāgdacha ãdhyāro

atto patto chaina malāi bihā bhaeko re
yo cancale umermā logne caṭṭai mare

kati din bokne maile birahako lũḍā
launa kasle ropi delā hṛdayamā khũḍā

kati ṭāḍā lāgeko malāi pānī khāne sābikko pãdhero

ḍhukkur ra parevākā duiṭā bhāle pothī
yo gharko dalānmā cucco joti joti

ãkhā mukh judhāera garne varī parī
yo dekhera mero manmā calcha ãdhiberī

maraũ bhane āũdaina kāl kati basaũ rātdin roera
yo ghãtīmā lāũ kyāre pāso kammarko patukī[2] phoera

varī parī joripārī tighrā ṭhaṭāera (bis)
halalala hãsekachan gijā dekhāera

seriera marũ bhane pani lāgcha ḍar(a)
bãce pani hunuparne sãdhai tharahar(a) (bis)

kasle katā bepattā pāryo yo sirko tyo rāmro juhār

thāñgro binā laharāle pāũdaina sobhā
tyastai mero jīvanmā paryo tobā tobā[3] (bis)

ghar bhari jahān chan āphnā chainan kohī
sabai bhanchan ehī rāḍīle ṭokī usko poi (bis)

sarāple makāyo hād yo manmā bhuĩcālo caldacha
kalejomā ropiyo siyo dhapa dhapa āgo nai baldacha

māita[4] basũ māitīko chaina jaro kilo[5] (bis)
bhae pani sãdhai basdā lāũthe mukh nilo[6] (bis)

ghar basũ kati sunũ kān ghocne kurā (bis)
kahā gayā dui hātkā merā rāmrā curā[7] (bis)

1. She means that since the death of her husband she no longer wears on her forehead the mark (ṭiko) of the married woman. We would tend to say that the absence of the ṭiko 'brightens' her forehead, but to the Nepalese way of thinking it is different.

2. We have translated patukī by 'belt'. However, as TURNER points out (op. cit., p. 360), it is a 'cloth tied round the hips, girdle'. B. PIGNEDE gives a description of the phogi worn by the Gurung women which could well apply to the patukī: 'it is made of a very long, narrow strip of cotton wound several times round the waist and covering the upper part of the skirt', (Les Gurungs, une population himalayenne du Népal, Paris, Mouton, 1966, p. 75).

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

THE WIDOW'S SONG

In his prime may husband died: this house has become dark.

All around the crows circle, cawing.
In the house nothing stirs, it is like an empty, solitary inn.
My forehead is dark: there is no red tika.
Better to die than remain a widow.

In his prime my husband died: this house has become dark.

I have no memory of my marriage.
In the restless age (of youth) my husband was struck down.
How many days will I have to bear this burden of separation ?
Who will pierce my heart with a sword ?

How far away the spring is where I fetch the drinking water.

Dove and pigeon, cock and hen, in pairs
On the verandah of the house touch beaks.
After touching beaks and eyes, they turn here and there:
When I watch this, a storm rises in my heart.

Death does not come to those who want it, how long shall I cry day and night ?
Why do I not put my untied belt round my neck ?

All the neighbours slap their thighs. (bis)
Laughing halalala they bare their gums.
I am afraid too that I shall cut my throat.
Even if I live, I shall always tremble in fear (bis)

Who has taken it, where has it gone, the beautiful jewel on my forehead ?

A climbing plant without a stake is not beautiful.
So in my life all is horror. (bis)
The house is full of people but there is no-one of my own.
They all say:'This whore has eaten up her husband'.

My bones have rotted from misfortune, my mind is restless.
There are needles planted in my liver; the fire flares up.

If stay with my parents, I have no family backing (bis)
If I stay there they look at me darkly. (bis)
If stay in this house, so many words burst my ear drums ! (bis)
Where have they gone, the charming bracelets from my wrists ? (bis)

3. For tobā tobā, TURNER, (op. cit., p. 291) gives: 'exclamation of horror or defeat'.

4. māit, as TURNER points out (ibid., p. 449), means 'a married woman's father's house's. Cf. infra. 10, 1/4.

5. jaro kilo: jaro means literally 'root' and kilo: 'nail, stake'.

6. nilo means literally 'blue', mukh nilo means 'dark face'.

7. She has had to take off and break her bracelets as a sign of mourning. The custom is very common in Nepal: for example, PIGNEDE mentions it, among the Gurung (op. cit., p. 272).

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

bagāũdai ãsukā dhārā dhuru dhuru roekī bicarā (bis)

rātī sutyo pākhurāmā tyahī ãsukā thopā
dubai ākhā gāḍiera bhae sāno khopā

ma mareko bhae dekhi unī bihā garne
unī mardā maile cāhi tyasai basnu parne

yasto niyam banāyo kasle tyo morālāi laijāun bãdhera[8]
chaina mero ghatīmā pote[9] kasle lagyo ṭapakkai gājera

din bhar jin tin hãs khel garyo
jaba paryo ṭhūlo sājh ani pīr paryo

yo sarir sabai mero lau ḍāhale polcha
ṭālieka tī parelā yahi ãsule kholcha

umeraimā poi maryo mero / yo gharnai lāgdacha ãdhyāro
bīrahīlāī dekhera holā hãsi hãsi nāceko camero

pauṣ māghko ṭhulo ṭhaṇḍī śrāvanko[10] jharī
vaisākko[11] carko ghāmmā karāũchan nyāulī[12] cari

bhāt ḍhiḍo[13] lāgcha malāi airelū[14] jhai tīto
jaṅgalko phūl jastai jīvan mero bityo

rātī heryo pilpile tārā diũso heryo māncheko muhār

masaṅgaikā merā dosti ṭhãṭiera hiḍne (bis)
yo dekhera mero muṭū kele kele cũḍne

siũdako rāto sindur[15] kasle puchyo mero (bis)
bacan lāũchan i gāũle phuṭyo khappar tero (bis)

rātī heryo pilpile tārā diũso heryo māncheko muhār
kasle katā bepattā pāryo yo sirko tyo rāmro juhār

kharānkhurun[16] bhayo sabai bhakārīko[17] dhān
iṣṭa mitra jāmmā bhayā dāl bhāt khāna

puretle guṭmuṭyāe gahakilo jethā
malāi cahi thapidiyā hunahārko bethā (bis)

marũ bhane āũdaina kāl kati basũ rātdin roera
yo ghaṭīmā lāũ kyāre pāso kammarko paṭukā phoera

8. She means: they should bind him in his shroud and tie him to a stretcher to carry him to the place of cremation.

9. TURNER, s.v. pote (op. cit., p. 391), says: 'A long straight bar of jewelry given by a man to his wife who if he dies, must discard it. However SARMA (op. cit., p. 669) says: sadhavā strīharule galāmā lagāune, vibhinnā rangko kãckā sānā - sānā dānako saubhāgyasūcak mālā 'worn round the neck by women whose husbands are living, a necklace, sign of prosperity, made of tiny beads of glass of different colours'.

10. pauṣ / pus is our December-January, and māgh our January-February. These are the coldest months in the Nepalese year. śrāvan corresponds to our July-August.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

I shed floods of tears. Unhappy I cry dhuru dhuru. (bis)

When I lie down at night, the tears flood over my arms.
My eyes are sunk in their sockets.
If I had died, he would have remarried.
Since it was he who died, I must stay like this.

The author of this law, they should bind his corpse and take him away!
There is no pote round my neck; who seized it so quickly ?

All day I pretend to laugh and play.
When night falls, I am filled with anguish.
My whole body is a burning fire.
The tears push their way through my closed lashes.

In his prime my husband died: this house has become dark.
Laughing at my grief perhaps, the bats dance.

During the cold months of Paus and Māgh or the rains of Śrāvan,
As in the bright sunlight of Baiśākh, the Nyauli bird sings his lament.
Rice and boiled flour taste bitter like the airelu.
Like a flower of the jungle, my life has faded.

At night I look at the stars and weep; in the day I look at men's faces.

Friends of my age dress up and go out. (bis)
Seeing this my heart breaks kele kele.
The red sīdur in the parting of my hair, who took it away ? (bis)
The vicious tongues in the village say, 'Your forehead is broken' (bis)

At night I look at the stars and weep, in the day I look at men's faces.
Who took it away, where did it go, the beautiful jewel from my forehead ?

The store of rice is finished:
Relatives and friends have gathered to eat.
The priest has packed up the major part of my inheritance.
For my part I have only had a supplement of misfortune. (bis)

Death does not come to those who want it: how long shall I cry day and night
Why do I not put an untied belt round my neck ?

11. baiśākh is our April-May

12. S.v. nyāulī/neuli, in TURNER (op. cit., p. 354) one finds: 'a particular kind of black bird'. ŚARMA (Op. cit., p. 590), s.v. nyāulo says: pahēlo cucco, nilo taūko, hariyo pucchar ra rāto bhūdi hune ek jātko caro 'bird of a particular species having a yellow beak, a black head, green tail and red breast'.

13. TURNER (op. cit., p. 265) translates dhiḍo by 'boiled maize flour'. In fact it does not always refer to maize flour. ŚARMA (op. cit., p. 448), s.v. dhīḍho, says: pānī umalī pitho halī odālera pakaeko khānekuro 'cooked food: flour poured into boiling water and stirred'. In Tibetan, boiled flour is called zan. PUSKAR ŚAMŚER JANG BAHĀDUR RĀNĀ, in his Aṅgreji - Nepālī koś (Nepal, 1963 B.S., I, p. 1085), translates the English 'mush' by dhiḍoko kisim.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

balla talla[18] bheṭṭāeko yo manusyako colā (bis)
bidhavā bhaī basnu pāryo bhitra hāncha solā[19] (bis)

ma mareko bhae dekhi unī bihā garne
unī mardā maile cāhī tyasai basnu parne

yasto niyām banāyo kasle tyo morālāi laijāuna bādhera
chaina mero ghaṭimā pote kasle lagyo ṭapakkai gājera

Tape 11, 1/2

Jānna ni āmā jānna ni tyo ghar(a)mā jānna ni (bis)
ke ākhāle diyau ni āsu ra bhāt khānnā ni (bis)

sāsu buḍhī rākṣesnī nandaharū kuraūṭe (bis)
jeṭhanī ra deuranī kuraūṭe ra phāle

logne moro bheḍo cha sautāharū bhayaṅkar
ek ākhāle dekhdina sautā rāḍi kulaṅgār

jānna ni āmā jānna ni tyo ghar(a)mā jānna ni

bharkhar ki sānī chu buddhi mero pugdaina (bis)
jyān sakī kām garne yo jiule sakdaina

bihānako dākmā bharkharkā rātmā
jānai parne pādherā kohi chaina sāthmā (bis)

jānna ni āmā jānna ni tyo ghar(a)ma jānna ni
ke ākhāle diyau ni āsu ra bhāt khānnā ni

14. TURNER (op. cit., p. 59), s.v. airelu, says: 'name of a very bitter wild gourd (cf. Sk. ervaruh, f. Cucumis utilissimus, Pk. evārru, m.?)'. ŚARMA (op. cit., p. 138), s.v. airelu, says simply jangali kākro; ek jātko tito kākro 'wild cucumber; bitter cucumber of a particular species'. For information on the wild cucumber of Nepal, see Tadashi IMAZU and Noriyuki FUJISHITA, 'Cucumbers', in Land and crops of Nepal Himalaya, Scientific Results of the Japanese Expeditions to Nepal Himalaya 1952-1953, Kyoto, H. Kihara, ed., 1956, II, p. 213-228.

15. The sidur had probably been taken off by the sister or mother of the deceased husband.

16. Kharaṅkhuruṅ is an anukaran word. It imitates the sound of the nails as they scratch the sides of the container.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

With great difficulty I have obtained human form. (bis)
I have been widowed and I must stay in this cage. (bis)
If it had been I who died, he could have remarried.
Since it was he who died, I must remain like this.

The author of this law, they should bind his corpse and take it away!
There is no pote round my neck. Who seized it so quickly ?

I will not go, mother, I will not go to that house, I will not go! (bis)
Where was your head when you handed me over? I will not feed on tears and rice.(bis)

My husband's old mother is an ogress and his younger sisters have vicious tongues.(bis)
His older and younger brothers' wives are gossips and good for nothing.
My husband is as stupid as a sheep; his other wives are frightful.
One cannot stand me; she is a shameful hussy.

I will not go, mother, I will not go to that house, I will not go!
Is it because of my youth or my small stature? I cannot understand. (bis)

To be killed with work - my body does not want it.
Very early in the morning when it is still dark,
And I must go to the spring, there is no-one to go with me. (bis)

I will not go, mother, I will not go to that house, I will not go!
There was your head when you handed me over? I will not feed on tears and rice.

17. TURNER (op. cit., p. 464) gives for bhakārī: 'coarse matting made of split bamboo, often used for making the sides of a hut; - a basket for storing grain'. In practice it is a large container of a cylindrical shape whose sides are made of coarse matting and which has no bottom: the container is used for storing dhān or kodo, etc., for the house.

18. TURNER (ibid., p. 425) translates balla talla by 'with great difficulty'. The widow is saying that in her former lives the good actions have outweighed the bad so that she was able to leave the world of the animals, preta, and become a human being.

19. The idea is that of impalement. TURNER (ibid., p. 624), s.v. solā says: 'a sort of trap set up by chowkidars which when touched shoots the intruder'. Cf. sulī, ibid., p. 618: 'a pointed stake on which criminals were impaled (a punishment not now used)'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

āphū bhane sānī chu ṡāgro malāi ṭhūlo bhayo (bis)
boknai hare nasakne gānoko[2] malāi bethā[3] bhayo (bis)

jethāni ra deurānī sautā rādi ṭhaskine
cādai aīna bhanera sautā āi bhutlyāune (bis)

Jānna ni āmā...
....

ghās syāulā dāurā pāt garnu parne banmā (bis
chaina phursat minat bhar je cha āmā manmā

jiu rogī bhaisakyo byathā lāgī sutemā
kac kac garne jahānai ke garī basne khormā (bis)

jānna ni āmā...
....

kahile bhanchan tihunmā nun carko bhayo re
tarkārimā kalus cha (re) hāt kicnu paryo re

jānna ni āmā...
....

jiu bharī nīl dām cha ṭāukāmā ghāūko khat (bis)
mero nimti bolidine kohi chaina hare śiva

ulto malāi sabaiko rāt din karkar cha
cūkka bolna napāune sabko malāi hapki cha

jānna ni āmā..
....

din bhariko thakāi nīdrā āūcha ākhāmā (bis)
hardamko cūlo potnu sabai mero thāplāmā

sutnai hare napāunu khuṭṭā micnu bāki cha
nanda sāsū sabaiko namice ta mārdacha

jānna ni āmā...
....

din bhariko thakāi nīdrā katyo bikhle
lāidina tel bhanī bihāna mārcha rīsle

jiu mero dukheko tel kitna pāūdina
jiu mero dukheko kohi pani ākhale dekhdaina

1. sauta means 'co-wife' (ibid., p. 624). Nowadays in Nepal there are sanctions against polygamy.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

As I said, I am small: the pitcher is too big for me. (bis)
I cannot carry it and it gives me pain. (bis)
The wives of his older and younger brothers and his other slut of a wife are angry.
'She does not come quick enough' they say, and the other wife comes and pulls my hair. (bis)

I will not go, mother.....
Where was your head....

Grass, branches, wood, leaves, I have to fetch them from the forest. (bis)
I never have a complete moment to myself. This, mother, is what I think.
I am ill already. If I lie down because I am tired,
My husband's family harasses me. Why stay in this cage? (bis)

I will not go, mother.....
Where was your head.....

Sometimes they say, There is too much salt in the lentils
There is dirt in the vegetables. We should grind your hands'

I will not go, mother....
Where was your head....

My whole body is covered with bruises, on my head is the mark of a wound. (bis)
O Śiva, there is no-one to speak for me.
On the contrary, day and night everyone is against me.
I cannot say anything and am rebuked on all sides.

I will not go, mother...
Where was your head...

After a day of tiredness, sleep closes my eyes.
It is always I who have to clean the hearth.
(Still) I cannot sleep, I have to massage their feet:
The other wife; my mother-inlaw; if I do not massage them all they hit me.

I will not go, mother...
Where was your head...

The poison of this daily fatigue robs me of sleep.
'She has not put oil on me' he says, and in the morning he beats me angrily.
My body aches, I cannot press the oil.
My body aches: nobody notices.

2. S.v. gānu, TURNER (ibid., p. 140) says: 'anything knotty or swollen'. D.B. BISTA writes: 'The new bride has a very hard time in her husband's house. Only for the first few days after marriage is she indulged because of other people's curiosity. Soon after that she has to work very hard to win the confidence not only of her husband but of all other mambers of her husband's family, the father, mother, and the wives of her husband's brothers, if there are any, before she can establish herself in the household' (People of Nepal, Calcutta, 1967, p. 10).

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

jānna ni āmā...
....

kos[4] bhariko ukālomā lekh[5] ra bẽsi garnu cha
bhāri bokī ek man(d)ko[6] pasināle bhijnu cha

khānu cuṭhnu[7] kehi chaina hamesāko purāno
khānu parne maile bãki baseko tiun(a) (bis)

beluki tyo koṭhāmā halhalala hãso cha
mero cāhī gālāmā ãsuko dhārā bagdacha

bālakaimā bihā bhayo hita rata[8] pāina nī
karma khoṭo rahecha yo āmā mata marchu ni

jānna ni āmā...
....

hãse bole lajākin bhani gāli gardachan (bis)
nabole ta ghusghuse bhani hapki lāũchan

kapāl korī siṅgār pāre nakharmāuli bhanera
nakore ta alachinai bhanchan gālī garera (bis)

jānna ni āmā...
....

jānu hunna katai isvar besya raṇḍī tãlāi
bhanī karaṅ khuskāi dine mārne āmā malāi

jyān mārāko bandīkhānā bhandā kadā garera
sādhai bhari jagjag bhaī kati basũ roera (bis)

jānna ni āmā...
....

3. bethā: TURNER, op. cit., p. 456: 'disease, illness; trouble, misfortune'.

4. kos: TURNER suggests prudently, (ibid., p. 456): ' a measure of distance, about two miles'. The use of the term is elastic, as anyone who has walked in the Nepalese hills will know.

5. lekh: ibid., p. 560: 'the ridge of a mountain, the higher slopes of a mountain'. bẽsi: ibid., p. 450, s.v. bisi: 'a flat piece of land by a river fit for rice cultivation'. Cf. M.C. REGMI, Land Tenure and taxation in Nepal, Berkeley, 1963, I, p. 7. One often finds these two terms in Nepalese place names, e.g.: Dailekh, Junbesi, etc.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

I will not go, mother...
Where was your head...

I have to climb up and down hill
With a load of a maund. I am bathed in sweat.
I do not have to wash after a meal because I do not eat anything fresh:
I always have to eat the vegetables that are left over. (bis)

I will not go, mother...
Where was your head...

In the evening in this house there are bursts of laughter
But tears flow down my cheeks.
Married in chidhood, I have known neither friendship nor pleasure.
My future is dark. Mother, I am going to die.

I will not go, mother...
Where was your head...

If I joke they rebuke me saying I am too bold.
If I do not speak they grumble saying I am pouting.
If I do my hair and wear any decoration, they call me a coquette.
If I do not do my hair, they call me a slut.

I will not go, mother...
Where was your head...

There is nowhere I can go without them treating me as a whore.
They will finish by breaking my ribs.
I am treated more severely than a murderer in prison.
In fear all the time, how long must I stay weeping? (bis)

I will not go, mother...
where was your head...

6. man: TURNER, op. cit., p. 491: 'a measure of weight equal to about 82 lbs., a maund'.

7. cuṭhnu means (ibid., p. 179) ' to wash the hands or face before or after eating'. We have taken it to have the meaning here indicated by SARMA, op. cit., p. 322: hāt mukh ādiko juṭho pakhalnu 'to wash the remains of a meal from one's hands and face, etc.'. puraṇo/ puraṇu, means literally 'ancient, old' and applies here to food. To avoid the repetition of the word 'remains' which occurs again in the following line, we have paraphrased instead of translating literally.

8. hita rata: TURNER (op. cit., p. 638), hit 'kindness, friendship', p. 528: rat 'pleasure, enjoyment, sexual pleasure, coitus'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Tape 11, 11/6 (Bhaktapur, 4-12-61)

javānīle choeko hũdā / gayo sarir din rātnai rũdā

bālakhāmā lāgdaina tyo javānīko bethā[1] (bis)
dinkā din channa aũchan javāndar keṭā (bis)
khāli kalpanāmā ḍubī bitaũchu din (bis)
hatpat kina aũthe yamarāj lina (bis)
kalpi kalpi roirahancha yo dil (bis)
garna pāinā kohi saṅga hil mil[2] (bis)

javānīle choeko hũdā / gayo sarir din rātnai rũdā

barkhā kālko sarī jhaī urlī aũcha bāḍī (bis)
sahī saknu nahũdāma runchu ãsu kāḍī (bis)
pucchu ãsu dui hātle ucālera sāri
kahã pugcha kahã pugcha yo loklāi chāḍī

āũcha ãsu dudh jhaī umlera / bolcha ṭyāũ ṭyāũ[3] kākākul banera (bis)
javānīle choeko....

bhitra dilmā cimaṭī cimaṭī bedanāle polcha (bis)
tyahī bedanā niskikana hava saṅga bolcha (bis)
jhalkī rahancha sāmu āī kalpanāko muhār
saṅkaṣṭako naṣṭa garna māgna thālchu guhār (bis)

kalpanāko dauḍamā dauḍera sakẽ jīvan mohamā ḍubāī (bis)
javānīle choeko....

kun bhābī[4] āikana caṭṭai ṭipidelā (bis)
lāl raṅga galāmā kasle mvai khālā (bis)
hṛdayama ropieko kasle jhiklā bhālā
sadā kāl kasle lyaulā yo jhalkane mālā[5] (bis)

ekoroko kalpanā garera / basi rahechu dukhamā hare (bis)
javānīle choeko....

yo cancale nayana phirāi yatā uti lāũchu
ṭukkāharu joḍi joḍi gīt pani gāũchu
yasabāta dherai thorai anandanai pāũchu
harṣa ãsu jhāri jhāri muhārnai dhunchu (bis)

rāto sāri[6] bhuī samma jhārī / basna pāũlā ko saṅga moj mārī (bis)
javānīle choeko....

1. As TURNER indicates (ibid., p. 456), bethā means 'disease, illness; trouble, misfortune'. In the context of this song, however, 'trouble of youth' would be too vague a translation to describe the state of the young woman in question.

2. Cf. TURNER, ibid., p. 639: hili-mili 'unitedly, jointly'.

3. TURNER (ibid., p. 248) translates ṭyāũ ṭyāũ garnu as 'to babble'. In fact it is an anukaran expression.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

At that moment I shall laugh freely. (bis)
I shall smile and show love to everyone.
My lips like my eyelids tremble constantly.
To whom shall I go to pour out my grief? (bis)

My tears flow relentlessly, I have never known happiness. (bis)
Young as I am....

With great difficulty one ties oneself to someone, then comes the break. (bis)
My life is assailed with doubts, like the tender grain by the thresher. (bis)
When the bee sucks it takes only the juice.
To the bee who sucked I did not give the juice. (bis)

The flower of my youth is faded: who will be interested in me?
Young as I am....

Little sister, your brother-in-law seduced me, seduced me (bis): he has made me his slave.

His hair is quite grey, but he still plays marbles . (bis)

He does not do anything in the house, (bis) little sister, your brother-in law plays the rascal.
Little sister, your brother-in-law seduced me seduced me: he has made me his slave.

Only he has beautiful clothes; he buys and eats good things. (bis)

For us, my little sister, your brother-in-law throws down 2 paisā as he is going out. (bis)
Little sister, your brother-in-law seduced me, seduced me (bis): he has made me his slave.

It is better not to speak of jewelry when he is making us die of hunger. (bis)

Little sister, your brother-in-law makes my tears flow like the rains in the month of Sāun. (bis)
Little sister, your brother-in-law seduced me, seduced me (bis): he has made me his slave.

I have not anything to wear or to eat: he is bad tempered without reason.
I have not anything to wear or to ear: he is bad tempered without reason.

Little sister, if I answer him back, your brother-in-law hits me. (bis)
Little sister, your brother-in-law seduced me seduced me: he has made me his slave.

5. sāun/sāwan, the fourth month in the Nepalese year, comes in the middle of the rainy season and corresponds to our July-August.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

LAMENT OF A YOUNG WOMAN

Young as I am, my body is weary, I cry day and night.

In childhood one does not feel this torment of desire. (bis)
Everyday young men come to weigh me up. (bis)
I pass my days in idle dreams. (bis)
Why does the king of death not come quickly and take me? (bis)
Always dreaming, my heart only cries. (bis)

Young as I am, my body is weary, I cry day and night.

As in the monsoon the waters overflow, (bis)
Unable to help myself, I cry hot tears. (bis)
To wipe my tears, I lift my sari with both hands.
Where can I go? Where can I go? forsaking this world.

My tears well up, like milk that is boiling: the lark sings tyāũ tyāũ. (bis)
Young as I am .... (bis)

In my heavy heart, anguish is a burning fire. (bis)
It is anguish which speaks through my sighs. (bis)
The face of my dreams appears and reappears.
To put an end to my distress I will ask for help. (bis)

While my imagination blazes, my life flows away, drowned in love. (bis)
Young as I am....

What divine being will come and take me? (bis)
Who will kiss me on my red cheeks? (bis)
The arrow that is planted in my heart, who will remove it?
Always (this question), 'Who will bring me my shining necklace?'(bis)

Haunted by a single dream, I am always, alas, unhappy. (bis)
Young as I am....

Always anxious I look here and there
I sing songs without beginning or end.
It brings me more or less joy.
With these tears of joy I shed, I drown my face. (bis)

Wearing a red sari down to the ground, with whom shall I live in happiness? (bis)
Young as I am.

4. TURNER (ibid)., p. 475) translates bhābi by 'God (= Brahma), Fate'.

5. That is: 'a married woman's necklace', which her husband's parents give her at her marriage.

6. That is: a married woman's sari. Generally young girls from a poor background do not wear the sari every day.

7. That is: 'when I wear a red sari, after my marriage'.

8. An anukaran expression.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

hãso āũcha tyahi belā[7] halalalā[8] gardai (bis)
muskurāũchu sabai saṅga prem jāl bhardai
lākh vaṭha calcha ustai ākhā sari bhaī
yo bedana khanyāũ kahã kasko pās gaī (bis)

tapa tapa cuincha nayana / santoṣ malāi kahilenai bhaena (bis)
javānile choeko....

ballā tallā[9] lāyo nātā ani hunchā phāṭo (bis)
gubhā geḍā jasto jiu yo cintāle jhãṭyo (bis)
cusna bhanī bhamarāle raś maṭrai lina
cusna raś bhamarālāi maile didai dina (bis)

javānīko gaisakyo jahar kasle garlā malāi lahaḍa
javānile choeko....

Tape 13, 11/1

phakāi phakāi lagyo malāi (bis) kamārī jhaī pāryo bahinī timro bhināle[1]

kapāl sabai phulisakyo ajha khelne gucca (bis)

gharko dhandā kunai nalī (bis) bhaī hiḍne gunḍā[2] bahinī timro bhināle
phakāi phakāi lagyo malāi kamārī jhaī pāryo bahinī timro bhināle

āphū eklai rāmro lāī mīṭho kinī khāne (bis)

hāmīlāi ta duiṭā paisā[3] phuttā phalī jāne bahinī timro bhināle (bis)
phakāi phakāi lagyo malāi (bis) kamārī jhaī pāryo bahinī timro bhināle

gahanā[4] lāuna parai jāhos khānabinā māryo (bis)

sāunko[5] barsā sari ãsu mero jharyo bahinī timro bhināle (bis)
phakāi phakāi lagyo malāi (bis) kamārī jhaī pāryo bahinī timro bhināle

khāna lāunu kehi chaina berthai lāũcha ghurkī
khāna lāunu chaina kehi berthai lāũcha ghurkī

javāph sabāl garaũ bhane diī hālcha mudkī bahinī timro bhināle (bis)
phakāi phakāi lagyo malāi kamāri jhaī pāryo bahinī timro bhināle

9. balla talla, cf. supra, 10, 11/2, where we have translated the same expression by 'with great difficulty'.

1. An older sister here talks about her husband to her younger sister (bahinī). The older sister's husband is brother-in-law (bhinā/ bhināju) to the younger sister.

2. TURNER (op. cit., p. 144) translates gunḍā by 'rascal, crook, evil fellow'.

3. TURNER, ibid., p. 390: ' a particular coin worth one fourth of an anna, copper coin, money'.

4. gahanā means 'jewel or ornament'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Tape 13, 11/2

Uḍeko caṅgā sita jānchu nabhana kānchī uḍeko caṅgā sita jānchu nabhana

trīsulī gaṅgā[1] yo man bhayo caṅgā (bis)

pārītira taraũlā jānchu nabhana kānchī (bis) uḍeko caṅgā sita jānchu nabhana

biraha mero tin bisa murī[2] (bis)

ma ta murchā paraulā jānchu nabhana kānchī (bis) uḍeko caṅgā sita jānchu nabhana

piratī lāuna barṣa din(a) lāgcha (bis)

phuṭnalāi chīn gharī jānchu nabhana kānchī (bis) uḍeko caṅgā sita jānchu nabhana

jāhata jāũla bālājyū[3] samma (bis)

jogīnī[4] bhaī jāũlā jānchu nabhana kānchī (bis) uḍeko caṅgā sita jānchu nabhana

pokharī timī ma jalko mācho (bis)

yo pani gītai ho jānchu nabhana kānchī yo pānī gītai ho jānchu nabhana

māchālāi pānī pānilāi māchā (bis)

cāhine ritai ho jānchu nabhana kānchī (bis) uḍeko caṅgā sita jānchu nabhana

kalejo kātī lāeko sāno māyā (bis)

birsane nagara jānchu nabhana kānchi
birsane nagara jānchu nabhana uḍeko caṅgā sita jānchu nabhana kānchī

trīsulī gaṅgā yo man bhayo caṅgā

pārītira taraũlā janchu nabhana kānchī (bis) uḍeko caṅgā sita jānchu nabhana

1. S. LÉVI wrote: 'The Tirsul Gandak is no ordinary river: it is the daughter of the trident of Śiva. Long ago the god, his throat burning from having swallowed the poison which threatened to destroy the universe, went to the Himālaya to plunge into the glacial waters of a lake: it is there that his devotees come to worship him from far, across the in a miraculous image, and it is there that the water Trisul Gandak springs forth in three water falls. Separated by a range of hills from sacred Nepal, it diverts at least a part of its waters to feed the fountains of Bālajī' (Le Nepal, I, p. 328).

2, muri, as TURNER points out (op. cit., p. 514), is 'a measure of weight equivalent to two maunds (man), about 160 lbs'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Do not say, my dear, 'I am going to fly away with the kite' Do not say 'I am going to fly away with the kite'.

O river Trīsulī, my spirit is light like a kite. (bis)

Do not say, my dear, 'I will cross to the other bank, I am going away'. (bis) Do not say, 'I am going to fly away with the kite'.

My burden weighs three times twenty murī. (bis)

Do not say, my dear, 'I am going to lose my mind: I am going away'. (bis)
Do not say, 'I am going to fly away with the kite'.

It takes a year to learn to love each other. (bis)

Do not say, 'It takes only a moment to break, I am going away'. (bis)
Do not say, 'I am going to fly away with the kite'.

If I must go, I will go to Bālāju. (bis)

Do not say, my dear, 'I will become a jogīnī, I am going awa-'. (bis)
Do not say, 'I am going to fly away with the kite'.

If you are a pond then I will be a fish. (bis)

Do not say, my dear, 'It is only a song, I am going'. Do not say 'It is only a song, I am going'.

For the fish there is water, and for the water there are fish. (bis)

Do not say, my dear, 'It is a law of nature, I am going away'. (bis)
Do not say, 'I am going to fly away with the kite'.

You have broken my heart, my dear. (bis)

Do not say, my dear, 'Do not forget, I am going away'.
Do not say, 'Do not forget, I am going away'. Do not say, 'I am going to fly away with the kite'.

O river Trīsulī, my spirit is light like a kite.

Do not say, my dear, 'I will cross to the other bank, I am going away'. (bis)
Do not say, 'I am going to fly away with the kite'.

3. On Bālajyū/Bālajī, cf. LÉVI, op. cit., I, p. 368: P. LANDON, Nepal, London, I, p. 226-228: FORBES, op. cit., p. 147: J. MORRIS, A Winter in Nepal, London, 1963, p. 28-30 and ph. 7.

4. jogīnī, TURNER, op. cit., p. 224, 'female ascetic'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Tape 14, 1/7

Mero māyā chainaki sitārām[1] parkha saṅgai jāũ (bis)
sakali ḍhakāko[2] ṭopima gaṅgarām parkha saṅgai jāũ

ãkhā ra ãkhā jan belā judhyo (bis)

kampani[3] bāgmā sitārām parkha saṅgai jāũ (bis)
sakali ḍhakāko ṭopima sitarām parkha sangai jāũ

he pyārī timile musukka hãsyau (bis)

pritiko ragmā sitarām parkha saṅgai jāũ
mero maya chainaki sitārām parkha saṅgai jāũ

pyārīle hãsdā bījulī camkyo (bis)

ujyālo bhayo man sitārām parkha saṅgai jāũ (bis)

he pyārī timro bāṭulo jovan (bis)

jhalkancha chātīmā sitārām parkha saṅgai jāũ

ūsaimā mero hardam cha citta (bis)

samjanchu rātimā sitārām parkha saṅgai jāũ (bis)
mero māyā chainaki sitārām parkha saṅgai jāũ

takiyā mero musāle kāṭyo (bis)

telko vasle sitārām parkha saṅgai jāũ

dinko bāṭo chinaimā āyã (bis)

pyārī jyān bhandaimā sitārām parkha saṅgai jāũ
pyārī jyān bhandaimā gaṅgarām parkha saṅgai jāũ
mero māyā chainaki sitārām parkha saṅgai jāũ

hukkā ra cilam yo khāṭai munī (bis)

tamākhu takhatāmā sitārām parkha saṅgai jāũ

pulukka herī musukka hãsī (bis)

bheṭ bhaeko bakhatmā sitārām parkha saṅgai jāũ (bis)
mero māyā chainaki sitārām parkha saṅgai jāũ

pānī ra māthi kyā yati rāmro (bis)

nīrkamal phuleko sitārām parkha saṅgai jāũ

yo naralokmā māyāko jālmā

duniyā bhuleko sitārām parkha saṅgai jāũ

guḍu ra guḍu[4] parevā gurjyo

1. We believe that the proper names Sitārām and Gangārām have been introduced to give a rhythm to the sentences and that they play the same role as relimai in other songs: for they do not fit in the dialogue. The content of the song describes a cultural context and a freedom of manners which is not typical of Nepal. This song may have been brought into Nepal by soldiers who had been in service abroad.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Remarks on Nepali sung verse 199

Do you not love me then? Sitārām, wait and let us go together. (bis)
With my real Dacca hat, Gangārām, wait and let us go together.

When our eyes met, (bis)

In the company garden, Sitārām, wait and let us go together. (bis)
With my real Dacca hat, Sitārām, wait and let us go together.

O my beloved, you smiled, (bis)

In the fire of emotion, Sitārām, wait and let us go together
Do you not love me then? Sitārām, wait and let us go together.

My beloved's smile was like a flash, (bis)

It lit up my soul. Sitārām, wait and let us go together. (bis)

O my beloved, from your rounded breasts, (bis)

Youth bursts forth. Sitārām, wait and let us go together.

My mind is riveted there, (bis)

I dream of them at night. Sitārām, wait and let us go together. (bis)
Do you not love me then? Sitārām, wait and let us go together.

A mouse has been eating my pillow, (bis)

Because of the smell of your oiled hair. Sitārām, wait and let us go together.

A day on the road seemed but a moment, (bis)

While I thought of my beloved. Sitārām, wait and let us go together.
While I thought of my beloved. Gangārām, wait and let us go together.
Do you not love me then? Sitārām, wait and let us go together.

There is a hookah under my bed, (bis)

There is some tobacco on the shelf. Sitārām, wait and let us go together.

You gave me a timid glance and smiled, (bis)

When we met. Sitārām, wait and let us go together. (bis)
Do you not love me then? Sitārām, wait and let us go together.

How pretty it looks on the water, (bis)

The pink lily which has opened. Sitārām, wait and let us go together.

In this world, in the snare of illusions,

People are lost. Sitārām, wait and let us go together.

The pigeons coo gudu-gudu

2. TURNER (op. cit., p. 265), s.v. ḍhākā, says: 'a particular kind of cloth embroidered with flowers. It is manufactured at Dacca, and is popular in Nepal'.

3. For the various possible meanings of the word kampani, cf. TURNER (ibid., p. 76 q.v.) Cf. supra, 13, 11/2

4. TURNER (ibid., p. 144) translates gudu gude by 'bubblingly, boilingly'. It is an anukaran expression.

5. Vaikuntha: TURNER (ibid., p. 458) translates 'Heaven (lw. Sk. Visnu's Heaven'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Tape 7, 11/3 (Kirtipur, 2I-II-1961)

Jyān khukurī[1] bhirera gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvaimā[2] (bis)
ṭũḍikhelmā[3] kavājai khelyaũ (bis)
hāi aiṭanko[4] bolile gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
pātalā jiuka chau merā dāju
lāgchaki golile gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
āṭhai hajār phaujkā timī abisar
bahādur samser khaṭiyā gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
bahādur samser ekrāj samser
brahma samser khatiyā gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
nir samser kiraṇ samser
rup bikram khaṭiyā gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
baldev samser pabitra samser (bis)
ghana samser khaṭiyā gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
totra samser toraṇ samser
balarām samser khaṭiyā gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
siṁha ra darbār[5] yo jhilī milī
hāi Ĩṭko milāp gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
hātmā tostān kãdhmā rāiphal
sipāīko bilāp gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
jyān khukurī bhirera gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
kāli bahādur paltaṇ manipur[6] gayo
jāpānlāi mārnalāi gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
kāli bahādur paltaṇ[7] sāt din samma gherāmā paryo
sāt din samma pānī khāna napāũdā
baldev samser bābu sāheble kerāko thammā kāṭī
pānī jyunār bhaeko gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
śer siṁhanāth palṭan[8] bāisdin samma gherāmā paryo
bāisdin samma anna khāna napāũdā

1. 'The curved knife carried by the Nepalese' (ibid., p. 123).

2. The 'German war' (jarmanko dhāvai/dhāvā) is that of 1939-1945.

3. The Tũdikhel is situated in the centre of the city of Kathmandu. Cf. e.g. J.H. ELLIOTT, Guide to Nepal, Calcutta, 1959, p. 92, and the 'Tourist Map' opposite p. 130; FORBES, op. cit., p. 41.

4. 'Adjutant' (engl.), ajitan (nep.). S.v. aitan, ŚARMA (op. cit., p. 137) gives: lapṭanko sahāyak aphisar 'officer who assists a lieutenant'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

DEPARTURE FOR THE WAR (BY KRISHNA BAHADUR)

Under the protection of our khukurī, O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany. (bis)

We have paraded on the Tundikhel. (bis)

At the order of the adjutant, O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

Your body is slender my brother:

Will a bullet hit it? O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

For an army of eight thousand

You, Bahādur Samser, have been appointed as Officer. O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

Bahādur Samser, Ekarāj Samser,

Brahma Samser have been appointed Officers. O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

Nir Samser, Kiraṇ(a) Samser,

Rup Bikram have been appointed. O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

Baldev Samser, Pabitra Samser, (bis)

Ghana Samser have been appointed. O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

Totara Samser, Torana Samser,

Balarām Samser have been appointed. O Gorkhali, we must go to war against Germany.

The Śimha Darbār is resplendent.

It is made of bricks. O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

Equipment in hand, gun on your shoulder,

It is the sad fate of the soldier. O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.
Under the protection of our khukurī, O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

The Kāli Bahādur batalion went to Manipur

to kill the Japanese. O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

The Kāli Bahadur batalion was surrounded for seven days.
For seven days they had no water to drink.
Bābh-Sāheb Baldev Samser cut the trunk of a banana tree

5. The Siṃha Darbar is the building which used to house the Government offices at Kathmandu. Cf. ELLIOTT, op. cit., p. 93, and photo opp. p. 95.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

pānī jyunār bhaeko gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā

ser simhanāth paltan[8] bāisdin samma gherāmā paryo
baisdin samma anna khāna napāũdā

sipāiharūle ghāsai tipī khāeko gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
jyān khukurī bhirera gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā

mahendradal[9] paltan bahādur thiyo misingan lyāyo (bis)

mahendradal paltanle jāpān māridiyo gorkhālī jānu paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
jyān khukurī bhirera gorkhāli jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā

dhanya pratāpī nepālī paltan bhanī
angrej bahādurle pani nepalī paltan bahādur bhanikana

bahādur takmā caḍhāyo gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
jyān khukurī bhirera gorkhāli jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā

jarmane dhāva ke hernu paryo (bis)

ragatko pokharī gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
jyān khukurī bhirera gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā

rātīlāi vadne eksaro barko[10] (bis)

diusolāi hukum(a) gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
jyān khukurī bhirera gorkhālī jānai paryo jarmanko dhāvāmā
hamro bhāgya kasta cha gorkhāli āipugyaũ nepāl[11] sahara

6. On Manipur, which is on the frontier between North East India and Burma, of. e.g. G. EVANS and A. BRETT-JONES, Imphal, a flower on lofty heights, London, 1965, p. 3-18; B.C. ALLEN, District gazetteer, Manipur, 1905; R. BROWN, Statistical account of the Native State of Manipur and the hill territory under its rule, 1873; W. McCULLOCH, Account of the valley of Munnipore and of the Hill Tribes, with a comparative vocabulary of the Munnipore and other languages, 1859. Manipur has always been an important transit route: note 'the Brahmans of Ta-ts'in' in P. PELLIOT, "Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde", BEFEO, 1904, p. 179-180.

7. On the the Kāli Bahādur batalion, cf. Ministry of Defence, Nepal and the Gurkhas, London, 1965, p. 149, EVANS and BRETT-JONES, op. cit., p. 160, 165; cf. also Sir F. TUKER, The story of the Gurkhas of Nepal, Gorkha, London, 1957, p. 167.

8. The Ser batalion is mentioned in Nepal and the Gurkhas, loc. cit.; for its role at the time of the 'revolt of the cipayes', cf. TUKER, op. cit., p. 155-156.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

This provided water. O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

The Śer Simhanāth batalion was surrounded for twenty-two days.
For twenty-two days they had nothing to eat.

The soldiers picked grass to eat. O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.
Under the protection of our khukurī, O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

The Mahendra Dal batalion was brave: they captured a machine gun (bis)

The Mahendra Dal batalion killed some Japanese. O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

Under the protection of our khukurī, O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

'How brave are the Nepalese batalions', they say
And the courageous English say it too.

They gave medals for bravery to the Nepalese. We must go to war against Germany.
Under the protection of our khukurī, O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

What have we seen of the war against Germany? (bis)
A like of blood. O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

Under the protection of our khukurī, O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

At night a cotton wrap for covering. (bis)
In the day, orders. O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

Under the protection of our khukurī, O Gorkhāli, we must go to war against Germany.

How lucky we are, O Gorkhāli, to have returned to the town of Nepal.

9. For the Mahindra (sic) Dal batalion cf. Nepal and the Gurkhas loc cit.; and TUKER, op. cit., p. 167, 265.

10. TURNER (op. cit., p. 423) translates barko by 'a wrap made of country cloth (khāri)'.

11. The 'town of Nepal', an expression which usually applies to the three big towns in the Valley: Pātan, Bhatgaũ and Kathmandu.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Tape 13, 1/1

Jānai parne pakkai cha najikai seto ḍolī[1] caḍhi gaṅgā[2] kināraimā (bis)

kālā thiyā keś sabai cãdi jhaĩ phule
cauri āya pusta gālā thānnā sarī bhae
mukhmāko dãta khasī kharlappai pare

jānai parne pakkai cha najikai seto ḍolī cadhī ganga kināraimā

joban chãdā īcchā thiyo jagatra ghamailo (bis)
tāgat ghaṭyo dṛṣṭi hĩḍyo sansārai naramailo

ṭanṭaimā din bityo sāpanā jhaĩ jānai parne bujhyau gaṅgā kināraimā
jānai parne pakkai cha najikai seto ḍolī caḍhī gaṅga kināraimā

bhāi bandhu kām(a) lāgchan ghāṭ samma mātrai (bis)
śāstra par jāncha sāthmā dharma śāstra[3] mātrai

dharma garna nabhulnu harinām[4] jānai parne bujhyau gaṅgā kināraimā
jānai parne pakkai cha najikai seto ḍolī caḍhī gaṅga kināraimā

joban chãdā īcchā thiyo jagatra ghamailo (bis)
tāgat ghaṭyo dṛṣṭi hĩḍyo sansārai naramailo

ṭanṭaimā din bityo sāpanā jhaĩ jānai parne bujhyau gaṅgā kināraimā
jānai parne pakkai cha najikai seto ḍolī caḍhī gaṅga kināraimā

bhāi bandhu...
....

dharma garna nabhulnu...
jānai parne...

svās chãdā sabai āī sodh puch garchan (bis)
svās uḍyo bhut[5] sari sabai tāḍa bhāgchan

māyā jhuṭā sansārai jhuṭā jānai parne bujhyau gaṅgā kināraimā
jānai parne pakkai cha najikai seto ḍolī caḍhī gaṅga kināraimā

bite rabāṅ[6] bite bāli[7] sekhi gardā gardai (bis)
ekaraj[8] almaliyā janjālmā pardai

1. ḍolī, here means a 'bier'. See the picture of a bier in use among the Gurung for carrying the dead in PIGNÈDE, op. cit., p. 343, Cf. the use of ḍolī in 10, 1/4 (infra).

2. gangā may also mean the Ganges, but this translation is not obligatory here. Cf. TURNER, Op. cit., p. 132, s/v/ gaṅgā.

3. As TURNER indicates (op. cit., p. 573), śāstra means 'religious book, esp. of the law, the science of the law'. Cf. ŚARMA, op. cit., p. 998. ŚARMA (ibid., p. 539) translates dharma śāstra by: kunai samajko vyavasthākā nimitta nīti ra sadācar - sambandhī niyamharu lekhieko granthā; and TURNER (op. cit., p. 326) says simply 'scriptures'. Our singer must mean by śāstra ' guides to good conduct in society' and by dharma śāstra 'guides to good religious conduct'. Note that dharma-granthā generally means the Veda. Nepalese thought does not draw a clear distinction between religious and lay activities.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

' NIRGUN '

Soon I must go, for sure, laid on a bier (draped in) white, to the bank of the river. (bis)

My hair was black, now it is like silver.
Wrinkles have appeared, my cheeks which were full are now like a crumpled cloth.
My teeth have fallen from my mouth and (my face) is hollow.

Soon I must go, for sure, laid on a bier (draped in) white, to the bank of the river.

When I was young, I had ambition, the world was a sunny place. (bis)
My strength is going, my sight is fading, life has become ugly.
In the anxieties (of life), day succeeds day as in a dream.
I must go, you understand, to the bank of the river.

Soon I must go, for sure, laid on a bier (draped in) white, to the bank of the river.

Friends and relatives are useful, but only as far as the funeral pyre (bis)
The teachings go with us to the beyond but only religious teachings.

Take note! Do not forget the name of Hari! I shall have to go, you understand, to the bank of the river.
Soon I must go, for sure, laid on a bier (draped in) white, to the bank of the river.

When I was young I had ambition, the world was a sunny place. (bis)
My strength is going, my sight is fading, life has become ugly.

In the anxieties (of life) day succeeds day as in a dream. I must go, you understand, to the bank of the river.
Soon I must go, for sure, laid on a bier (draped in) white, to the bank of the river.

Friends and relatives...
....

Take note! Dot not forget...
Soon I must go...

As long as one has breath, everyone will come for news. (bis)
As soon as one stops breathing, everyone runs away as if from a ghos

Love is an illusion, the world is an illusion. I shall have to go, you understand, to the bank of the river.
Soon I must go, for sure, laid on a bier (draped in) white, to the bank of the river.

Rāvaṇa is dead, Bāli is dead, in spite of all their boasts. (bis)
Ekarāj is lost, entangled in the affairs of the world .

4. Hari is one of the names of the god Viṣṇu

5. TURNER (op. cit., p. 479) translates bhūt as 'ghost, evil spirit, devil'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

śrī kriśna bhagavān[9] sārā kām lāgne bujhyau gaṅgā kināraimā
jānai parne pakkai cha najikai seto ḍolī caḍhī gaṅgā kināraimā

Tape 13, 1/1 bis

cār[1] din basnalāi
car din bãcnalāi keko ṭaṇṭā pīr
yo jiu papi[2] rahane chaina thīr

anek karma garī, kamāeko karoḍ dhan saṁpatti (bis)

ākhir(i) sakena kasaile lāna
akhir sakena kasaile lāna, na hãka pīr
yo jiu papī rahane chaina thīr

cār din basnalāi
car din bãcnalāi keko ṭaṇṭā pīr
yo jiu papi rahane chaina thīr

rājā rānī paṇḍiṭ gyānī, viṣma[3] jastā aneka sūr bīr (bis)

mai hũ bhanne raṇa bīr
mai hũ bhanne raṇa bīr, jāna parcha ākhir
yo jiu papī rahane chaina thīr

ek(a) din(a) yamarājko[4] ḍhokāmā, hunu parcha hājir (bis)

cār dinko pāhunā bhaī
car dinko pāhunā bhaī, āeko sarir
yo jiu papi rahane chaina thīr

cār din basnalāi
car din bãcnalāi keko ṭaṇṭā pīr
yo jiu papi rahane chaina thīr

6. For Rāvaṇa, cf. e.g. J.DOWSON, A classical dictionary of Hindu mythology and religion, London, 1950, p. 264-265.

7. Bāli is doubtless the Monkey-God of Indian mythology, killed by Rāma, cf. ibid., p. 42.

8. For Ekarāj/ekarāja, cf. G.P. MALALASEKARA, Dictionary of Pāli proper names, London, 1960, 1, p. 449-450; and Sir M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, A Sanskrit-English dictionary, Oxford, 1899, p. 229.

9. For Kṛṣṇa in Nepal cf. LÉVI, op. cit., 1, p. 368 sq.

1. cār means literally 'four', but in the spoken language it also has the meaning of 'some'. Cf. dui-cār which one would translate as 'two or three'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Śri Kṛṣṇa Bhagavān is a great help, you understand, as far as the bank of the river.
Soon I must go, for sure, laid on a bier (draped in) white, to the bank of the river.

A few days to stay
A few days to live. Why worry?
This sad life does not last for ever.

In return for toil one accumulates vast riches. (bis)

In the end no-one can take them with him. (bis)
Do not trouble yourself!
This sad life does not last for ever.

A few days to stay.
A few days to live. Why worry?
This sad life does not last for ever.

King, queen, pandit, sage, numerous heros like Bhīṣma (bis)

Who say: 'I am a conqueror' (bis), they too must finally go.
This sad life does not last for ever.

One day we must present ourselves at Yamarāj's gate. (bis)

We are only the guest for a few days (bis) in our bodies.
This sad life does not last for ever.

A few days to stay
A few days to live. Why worry?
This sad life does not last for ever.

2. pāpī is difficult to translate. TURNER (op. cit., p. 375) suggests 'wicked'. To translate it properly one must dissociate the Western ideas associated with the notion of 'sin'.

3. Viṣma: cf. e.g. DOWSON, op. cit., p. 53-54: and LÉVI, op. cit., I, p. 206: Bhiṣma

4. Yamarāj is the king of the dead.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Tape 13, 1/2

Svatantranko[1] nārāle āja lyāyaũ hera nirbācan lahara (bis)

dui hajār pandra sāl phāgun[2] pandra gate[3]
daśami budhabārko din
hāmro deśmā ām cunāv hunalāgyo kina (bis)

māthi māthi havāi jahāj uḍāune pṛthvīmā bhoṭ cunāv garāune

ghar ghar āī hāmro nām lekhe thar[4] (3is)
kati barśa lekhekā chan samjhanānai gara
ekkāis barśa māthikāle bhoṭ dina paũcha[5]
nalaijāu bālbaccā kicineko ḍar cha (bis)

māthi māthi havāī jahāj uḍāune pṛthvīmā bhoṭ cunāv garāune
svatantranko nārāle āja lyāyau hera nirbācan lahara

āimāī logne mānisko bhindai lāin huncha
sarkāriyā pulisharu pālo basne huncha (bis)
dubaitira mānisko lām lāgeko belā
ubhieko mānislāi hātmā ṭikaṭ delā
diekoni ṭikatlāi hātai hātmā leū
manle khāeko bākasmā caṭṭai hālideū (bis)

svatantrako nārāle āja lyāyaũ hera nirbācan lahara

biskun kurne buḍhī āmā hiḍa daile ṭhokī
saṭhī barśā pugeka budhābā hiḍa lauro ṭekī
manle khāeko bākasmā caṭṭai hālideū (bis)

svatantrako nārāle āja lyāyaũ hera nirbācan lahara

jeṭho choro gharko dhanī māīlo choro lāure[6] (bis)
pandra sālko[7] bhoṭ cunāvle peṭai bhayo cāure (bis)

māthi māthi havāī jahāj uḍāune pṛthvīmā bhoṭ cunāv garāune
svatantrako nārāle āja lyāyaũ hera nirbācan lahara

1. svatantra means literally 'independent, free, uncontrolled' (TURNER, op. cit., p. 626).

2. phāgun corresponds to our February-March.

3. For many reasons the elections in question did not take place on the same day throughout Nepal. B.L. JOSHI and L.E. ROSE write: 'For example, on February 18, 1959, elections were to begin in eighteen constituencies spread over sixteen districts, on February 26, in the Northern regions of Jumla district, and on March 2, in the Western district of Dailekh. The Commissioner estimated that the elections would be completed in forty-five days, that is by April 3' (Democratic Innovations in Nepal, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966, p. 284).

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

See the excitement today at the election, demanded by the people. (bis)

In the year 2015, on the 15th of Phāgun
The 10th day of the lunar fortnight, a Wednesday
General elections will take place in our country. (bis)
High up there, flies an seroplane: on earth, we are organising an election.

They came to each house: they wrote our names and our thar.[4] (bis)
Remember the age which they noted.
Only those over twenty-one will be able to vote.
Do not bring children along for fear they might get crushed. (bis)

High up there, flies an aeroplane: on earth, we are organising an election.
See the excitement today at the election, demanded by the people.

There will be separate queues for men and women.
The government police will be on duty. (bis)
When the people are standing in two lines
A ticket will be given to each one.
Hold on to the ticket you have been given.
Put it quickly in the box of your choice. (bis)

See the excitement today at the election, demanded by the people.

Old mother watching the grain as it dries, shut your door and come this way!
Old father of sixty years old, lean on your stick and come this way!
Put it quickly in the box of your choice. (bis)

See the excitement today at the election, demanded by the people.

The eldest son manages the house and the youngest is away in India (bis)
After the elections of the year (20) 15, we are thinner. (bis)

High up there, flies an aeroplane: on earth, we are organising an election.
See the excitement today at the election, demanded by the people.

4. thar: TURNER (p. 294, q.v.): 'Clan, tribe, class, sub-caste (these divisions rest mainly on place of residence, occupation, descent from mixed marriages between castes)'. We do not understand the meaning of the word thar in the document quoted, PIGNÈDE, op. cit., p. 163: the author specifies that this is a document 'in Nepali', however in Konthar-walayo-pardi and Paegi lama-thar walayo, the only Nepali word we recognise is thar. The Nepalese themselves use the word thar in several ways as shown in ŚARMA's dictionary, p. 487: I) Kul-paramparābaṭā āeko nām; vaṃśa-paramparāgata nām; upanam, 2) Kisim, prakār, 3) Kunai tharīkā mātahatko ābādī.

5. JOSHI and ROSE indicate that: 'The voters lists were published in the various constituencies in August; any person who attained the age of twenty-one years after the lists had been prepared was advised to enter his name on the list at the nearest station. Final voters' lists were published on November 7 and were exhibited in each constituency for general information as well as last minute scrutiny'. (op. cit., p. 284).

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Tape 13, 1/3

Nām nabhae myād chādai dābī gara[1] hajūr prajātantra[2] āũcha jarur
hajūr prajātantra āũcha jarur

āphno nām(a) jhaṭṭa paṭṭa[3] dartā garāi hāla (bis)

mata dīdai manko mailo pakhālera phāla prajātantra āũcha jarur (bis)
nām nabhae myād chādai dābī gara hajūr prajātantra āũcha jarur

jahābāṭa nām thar lekhieko huncha[4] (bis)

tyahī thāũmā ummedvār rojna pāni pāindacha prajātantra āũcha jarur
nam nabhae myād chādai dābī gara hajūr prajātantra āũcha jarur

pahāḍ ra madhesmā jangalmā bās

himālkā āṭ kāṭ basne sabai jāt prajātantra āũcha jarur
nām nabhae myad chādai dābī gara hajūr prajātantra āũcha jarur

dui lamberko pharam banai āphno nām lekhnu
dui lamberko pharam banai āphno nām bano[5]

tin nambarko pharam[6] banaī āturī ni garnu prajātantra āũcha jarur
nam nabhae myad chadai dābī gara hajur prajātantra āũcha jarur

6. lāure: TURNER (op. cit., p. 555) translates lāhure by 'enlisted' and explains that lāhur comes from the Panjabi lāhor 'the city of Lahore, where Gurkhas used to go to be enlisted as mercenaries in the Penjab'. Nowadays lāure applies not only to soldiers in service abroad (in India, Singapore, Hong-Kong) but also in a vague way to anyone engaged in any activity in India. We believe the singer wants to say that after the elections the situation of the ordinary person is not changed: the head of the family is often absent from the home for trading purposes, and the youngest son often leaves to seek his fortune in India.

7. The singer says simply 'fifteenth year' but the 2015th year is understood.

1. dābī gara: cf. TURNER, op. cit., p. 309: dābi dharnu 'to claim'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

If your name is not there, ladies and gentlemen, appeal while there is still time. Democracy will surely come! Ladies and gentlemen, Democracy will surely come!

Enter your name quickly. (bis)

Your mind will be free of doubts once you have voted. Democracy will surely come! (bis)
If your name is not there, ladies and gentlemen, appeal while there is still time. Democracy will surely come!

In the place where your name and thar have been written, (bis)

There you may choose your candidate. Democracy will surely come!
If your name is not there, ladies and gentlemen, appeal while there is still time. Democracy will surely come!

Whether you live in the mountains, the plains, or the jungle,

Or whether you are from a remote corner of the Himālayas, for everyone, Democracy will surely come!
If your name is not there, ladies and gentlemen, appeal while there is still time.

Form number 2 is ready: write your name.
Form number 2 is ready: say your name.
Form number 3 is ready: hurry. Democracy will surely come!

If your name is not there, ladies and gentlemen, appeal while there is still time.

2. Prajātantra does not mean here the Nepalese political party of the same name (A. GUPTA, Politics in Nepal, p. 163) but Democracy in the widest sense. ŚARMA (op. cit., p. 976) defines it thus: praja va parajaka pratinidhiharudvārā calāine śāsan-vyavastha 'government by the subjects or their representatives'.

3. jhatta patta: TURNER, op. cit., p. 227: 'at once, immediately'.

4. On these elections cf. supra, 13, 1/2, notes.

5 bano is odd: it should be bhannu.

6. We do not know the nature of the forms in question. Note the alternation of lamber/nambar for the English 'number'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Tape 9, 1/2 (Length: 15')

Nepālīkā prem ni āja timī kata harāyau hāi bīr tribhuvan[1] nepālīlāi sunya garāyau hāi bīr tribhuvan nepālīlāi sunya garāyau.

dui hajār eghāra sāl cait[2] mahinā cāra ra bicāra (bis)
biśānti sārā aniṣṭa bhayo āecha khabara[3]

nepālīkā prem ni...

dui hajār eghāra sāl cait pandra gate
sabāri huna lāgyo śrī pāc sarkār dillī saharmā
aghi pani risallā pachi pani risallā
aghi pani kāṅgres[4] pachi pani kāṅgres
nārāyaṇ hiṭī[5] dekhi
maṭarma savāri bhayo tribhuvanko gaucaran(ai)mā prabhū gaucaran(ai)mā
gyānendra śāha nāti runa lāge chāti ṭhokī ṭhokī chāti ṭhokī ṭhokī

napālīkā prem ni...

nepālī kāṅgres jindābād bhani kāṅgres karāuna thāle
bholi parsi āūlā bhanī śrī pāc sarkār tribhuvanko bhayo ta hukum(a)
prabhū
bhayo ta hukuma
havāījahāj bhitra, savāri bhayo tribhuvanko tyahā (bis)
hāvejahāj udāi diyo dāibarle (bis)
nepālmā tin cakkā khāyo
savāri bhayo tribhuvanko ḍillī saharaimā prabhū ḍilli saharaimā (bis)

nepālīkā prem ni...

kalkattā[6] bambaī paṭnā dārjalin ghumi ghumi najar bhayo tribhuvanko
tyahā
kaunaiko auṣadhile choena tribhuvanlāi
jānai paryo tribhuvanle nārāyaṇ hiṭī māyā māri kanai prabhū māyā
mārī kanai

nepālīkā prem ni...

dui mahinā bhitramā ek lākh rupiyā kharca garibaksyo śrī pāc
sarkār tribhuvanle tyahā
kaunaikā auṣadhile choena tribhuvanlāi prabhū choena tribhuvanlāi

nepālīkā prem ni...

juhārlālle[7] bhanī diyā tribhuvanlāi tyahā tyahā (bis)
aparesan garnu parcha bhanī
juhārlālle bhanī
havas prabhū bhanī
tribhuvanle bhanī
sviṭjarlayāṇḍko darbārmā
das janā ḍāktar das janā kampāuṇḍar
tribhuvan savāri bhayo[8] sviṭjarlyāṇḍaimā prabhū sviṭjarlyāṇḍaimā

1. On King Trinhuvan, cf. GUPTA, op.cit., index, p. 332. There is a colour portrait of King Tribhuvan in LANDON, op.cit., I, frontsp.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Remarks on Nepali sung verse 213

THE DEATH OF TRIBHUVAN (by Magar Gāine)

Beloved of the Nepalese, where have you gone today? Alas, brave Tribhuvan, you leave the Nepalese in deep distress! Alas, brave Tribhuvan, you leave Nepalese in deep distress!

Remember: in the year 2011, in the month of Cait, the fourth day.
Came the news of the disaster, terrible for us all. (bis)

Beloved of the Nepalese...

In the year 2011, on the 15th of Cait,
The King set out for Delhi.
Cavalry both in front and behind.
Congress both in front and behind.
From Narayaṇ Hiṭī to Gaucar , Sir, Tribhuvan travelled by car, as far Gaucar.
His grandson Gyāñendra began to cry, beating his chest, beating his chest.

Beloved of the Nepalese...

The men of the Congress began to shout, 'Long live the Nepali Congress!
King Tribhuvan declared, Sir, King Tribhuvan declared, 'I will return in a few days'.
Then Tribhuvan entered the plane which was waiting for him. (bis)
The pilot of the plane took off (bis) and turned three times round the Valley.
Tribhuvan left for the city of Delhi, Sir, for the city of Delhi. (bis)

Beloved of the Nepalese...

On the way Tribhuvan visited Calcutta, Bombay, Patna and Darjeeling.
The medicines given him brought Tribhuvan no relief.
Tribhuvan had to leave (again), abandoning his dear Narāyaṇ Hiṭī, Sir, forsaking his love.

Beloved of the Nepalese...

Within two months Tribhuvan had spent 1000000 rupees there
No (doctor's) medicine brought any relief to Tribhuvan, Sir, brought any relief to Tribhuvan.

Beloved of the Nepalese...

Jawarharlal then spoke to Tribhuvan there (bis), 'You must have an operation', said Jawarharlal.
Tribhuvan replied, 'I agree', he said.
In the palace in Switzerland there were ten doctors and ten assistants.
Tribhuvan went to Switzerland, Sir, to Switzerland.

2. cait corresponds to our March-April.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

nepālīkā prem ni...

cār baje ṭāimmā
tribhuvan tās kucin makhmalmā sukulā bhayo
ḍākṭarle ainā dekhāidiyo
tribhuvan murchā parirahe
das janā ḍākṭarle tribhuvanko bhũḍī cirikana
andra bhũḍī jammai bāhira rākhyo
ek pāthī[9] jati ragat gayo tribhuvanko tyahã
muṭuko tinvoṭa khaṭira ciridiyo ḍākṭarle pani tyahã
andra bhũḍī jammai bhitra hālī jammai tayār hune ṭāimmā
cār mineṭ ḍhilo hũdākheri tribhuvanko pavan uḍāilagyo
car minet ḍhilo hũdākheri tribhuvanko pavan uḍāilagyo prabhu uḍāilagy

nepālīkā prem ni...

nārayaṇ hiṭī āyo ta khabar(a)
jeṭhā mahendra śāha
mailā yubarāj
kānchā yubarāj
cãdai āunu bhanī
juhārlālko bhayo ta hukum(a) prabhū ta hukum(a)

nepālīkā prem ni...

sviṭjarlyaṇḍko darbārmā tribhuvanlāi
tālcā mari rākheko thiyo
mailā yubarāj
kānchā yubarāj
jeṭhā mahendra śāha
havejahājmā caḍi
savāri bhayo mahendra śāhako ḍillī saharaimā prabhū ḍillī saharaimā

nepālīkā prem ni...

jeṭhā mahendra śāhale bhanibaksyo
he prabhu hāmro buvā kahã savāri bhayo
prabhuko buvā sorge bās hunubhayo bhanī
juhārlālle bhanī
juhārlālle bhanibaksyo mahendra śāhalāi
kahã chan hamrā buvā savāri hos bhanī
sviṭjarlyaṇḍko darbārmā pugī
sviṭjarlyaṇḍko (darbārko) ḍhokā ughārī
tribhuvanko ragat āeko dekhdā
tribhuvanko muhār dekhdākheri
jeṭhā mahendra śāha mahila yubarāj kānchā yubarāj chāti ṭhokī royā

3. That is, the news of the King's illness.

4. This is, of course, the political party, the Nepalese Congress.

5. Nārāyaṇ Hiṭī, built in the reign of Dev Samser (1887-1901), was the residence of King Tribhuvan. At Gaucar is the airstrip for Kathmandu.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Beloved of the Nepalese...

At four o'clock Tribhuvan lay down on a bed draped with brocade and velvet.
A doctor showed him a mirror, and Tribhuvan fainted.
Ten doctors opened up Tribhuvan's stomach.
They took out all the intestines.
Tribhuvan lost about a pāthī of blood.
The doctors there also opened up three ulcers of the heart.
Then when the moment came to put back the intestines
They were four minutes late and the life of Tribhuvan passed away.
They were four minutes late and the life of Tribhuvan passed away,
Sir, it passed away.

Beloved of the Nepalese...

The news reached Nārāyaṇ Hiṭī.
'The eldest Mahendra Śāha,
The second prince,
The third prince,
Come quickly!'
This was the message from Jawaharlal, Sir, this was his message.

Beloved of the Nepalese...

In the palace in Swetzerland Tribhuvan was locked away.
The second prince,
The third prince,
The eldest Mahendra Śāha
Boarded the plane.
(With) Mahendra Śāha they went to the city of Delhi, Sir, to the city of Delhi.

Beloved of the Nepalese...

The eldest Mahendra Śāha said,
'Sir, where has our father gone?'
'Your father is in heaven',
Replied Jawarharlal.
Thus spoke Jawarharlal to Mahendra Śāha
'Lead us to the place where my father is'.
When they arrived at the palace in Switzerland,
And opened the door of the palace in Switzerland,
Seeing the blood which had flowed from Tribhuvan,
And seeing the face of Tribhuvan,
The eldest Mahendra Śāha, the second prince and the third prince beat their chest and wept.

6. JOSHI and Rose write: "King Tribhuvan flew to Calcutta for a medical check-up on August 12, 1953, and remained there for more than a month. He then returned to Kathmandu, but only for three days before leaving for Europe, where he stayed until January 4, 1954" (op. cit., p. 112).

7. Juhārlāl is Jawarharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India at the time.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

nepālīkā prem ni...

juharlāl runa lāge chāti ṭhoki kana
jahā gae pani āphno dajubhāi hidejhai hideko prāṇ
tribhuvan aba timro darśan kahā paũla bhanī
juharlāl runa lāge chāti ṭhokī kana rājā murchāpari kana

nepālīkā prem ni...

jeṭhā mahendra śāhako bhayo ta hukum(a)
prabhū cāḍai sora janā brahmā ḍāki kana
sora janā brahmālai ḍāki kana
tribhuvanlāi sviṭjarlyaṇḍko ḍhokā baṭa kādh kādhmā rākhi kana
havejahāj bhitra tribhuvanlāi rākhe
juharlālle suparephūlko[10] mālā
dubāko mālā lāidiyo
rānā sarkārharū pani tyas avasar jammai āikana
ek ek mālā hāli didākheri tribhuvanko ghāṭī samma mālā āipugyo
tribhuvan svarge hoibaksyo bhanī
sahar paṭan bhadgāũ ṭhimikā kaṅgresharū herna gae gaucaranmā
maṭar saikal ghoḍako rākhne thāũ chaina gaucaranmā
baḍa maharānī mahilā baḍa maharānī gyānendra śāhī nāti
pani herna āibaksyo
herna āibaksyo gaucaranmā
hari samśer[11] pani savāri bhayo gaucaranmā
tribhuvanlāi jhaṇḍā bhaeko havāijahājmā
tribhuvanlāi liera aya
mahilā yubarāj kāncha yubarājko havāi jahāj pachi pachi
tribhuvanko havāijahāj aghi aghi savāri bhayo tribhuvanko gaucaranmā

nepālīkā prem ni...

nepālmā havāijahāj sāt phera ghumyo
ek mālā khasālidiya brahmāharule paśupatiko[12] thānmā (bis)
havāijahāj sāt phera cakkar khayo
gaucaranma havāijahāj basyo (bis)
sora janā brahmāle tribhuvanko havāijahāj kholikana
sora janā brahmāle tribhuvanlāi havāijahāj baṭa bāhira
kādh kādhmā halera dekhāũdā kheri prajāharu dhuru dhuru[13] royā

nepālīkā prem ni...

aghi pani kāṅgres runalāge
pachi pani kāṅgres runalage

8. JOSHI and ROSE write: "King Tribhuvan (...) bade farewell to his subjects in a roadcast on October 2 (1954) (...) He left for Switzerland the next day on a trip from which he was never to return" (ibid., p. 119)

9. 10 pāthī = I man 82 lbs; so I pāthī = approx. 3,720 kg. One would imagine the King lost about 3 litres of blood.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Beloved of the Nepalese...

Jawarlal began to weep, beating his chest:
'Wherever we went we were like brothers, my dear one.
When will I see you again, O Tribhuvan?'
Saying this Jawarharlal began to weep, beat his chest, your Honour, and fainted away.

Beloved of the Nepalese...

The eldest Mahendra Śāha ordered:
'Gentlemen, fetch sixteen Brahmans
fetch sixteen Brahmans'.
From the door (of the palace) in Switzerland they carried Tribhuvan on their shoulders
And put Tribhuvan in a plane.
Jawarharlal placed (on him) a garland of supāre flowers and a garland of dubo grass.
All the Rānās also came at that moment
And each one placed a garland on him, and the garlands covered Tribhuvan up to his throat.
Saying, 'Tribhuvan is dead',
The members of Congress from Kathmandu, Pātan, Bhādgāũ and Ṭhimī went to see what was happening at Gaucar.
At Gaucar there was nowhere to put the cars, bicycles and horses.
The eldest queen, the second queen, and the grandson Gyãnendra Śāha came to see, came to see at Gaucar.
Hari Samśer also went to Gaucar.
In a plane bearing the flag of Tribhuvan,
They brought Tribhuvan back.
The plane of the second and third princes behind,
Tribhuvan's plane at the head, thus Tribhuvan travelled to Gaucar.

Beloved of the Nepalese...

The plane flew seven times round the Valley.
The Brahmans dropped (from the plane) a garland on the temple of Paśupati, (bis)
The plane flew seven times round
And landed at Gaucar. (bis)
The sixteen Brahmans opened (the door of) Tribhuvan's plane.
The sixteen Brahmans carried Tribhuvan out of the plane on their shoulders.
They showed him to his subjects who wept hot tears.

Beloved of the Nepalese...

In front (the members of) Congress began to weep.
Behind (the members of) Congress began to weep.

10. supāre here means, 'like an areca-nut' (TURNER, op. cit., p. 615). The buds of these flowers resemble areca-nuts, whence their Nepali name. The reference is no doubt to Beaumontia grandiflora. Cf. ph. 49 in H. KIHARA, ed., Fauna and Flora of Nepal Himalaya, Kyoto, 1955, I, p. 206, and the list on page 205 where the indigenous name is given incorrectly, dubo: Cynodon dactylon.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

aghi pani paltanle ultabanduk bhiryo
pachi pani ultabanduk bhiryo
aghi pani biraniko baja bajaya
pachi pani biraniko baja bajaya
jetha bada maharani mahila bada maharani murchaparī roya
jetha mahendra śahale balai lyaeko herna nahũda kheri
jetha mahendra śaha bada maharani mahila bada maharani
narayan hiti savari bhayo
kancha yubaraj mahila yubaraj
dayã bayã basi uttam dan dharma garī
biraniko baja bajaũdai dan dharma gardai savari bhayo tribhuvanko
arya ghataima[14]

nepalika prem ni...

hernajane lavalaskarlai pulisle aba timī timī jau aphno ghar gharma
bhanī
yi sable kasaile jane tyam pala tãgirakheko thiyo
śrikhanda kapurko sola banaya
pat pitambarle tribhuvanlai chaya
sora gandhale[15] purikana tribhuvanlai rakhe
maila yubarajle sat phera sola ghumī dagbattī die
kancha yubarajlai sorajana brahmale ucalna sakenan
kancha yubaraj murchapari roe
prabhulai matra hoina jarur pachi ekbar janu parcha prabhū bhanī
sorajana brahmale bhanī
sat phera matra sola naghumaũ bhaigo
tin phera matra sola ghumaikana
kancha yubarajle ago laidiya
yo mailadai ba bhanna pugyo ba bhanna pugyo
sapana jastai bhayo dai
sapana jastai bhayo dai
kancha yubaraj runalage chati thokikana murcha parikana

nepalika prem ni...

narayan hiti janu chaina bhanī
mahendra śahale bhanidiya
kalimati darbarma apho dajubhai matarma cadī
rũdai rũdai aeko dekhda kheri
nara samśerka chorīharule jhyalbata dekhda kheri
aphno purus aeko dekhda kheri nara samśerka choriharu chati thokī
murchapari roya

11. Hari Samśer: the father-in-law of Mahendra Śaha.

12. There is a photo of the temple in LÉVI, op. cit., I, p. 210; and in LANDON, op. cit., I, p. 225.

13. dhuru dhuru is an anukaran expression.

14. The Ārya Ghāt is at Paśupatināth.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

In front, the regiments reversed arms.
Behind, the regiments reversed arms.
In front, they began to play a dirge.
Behind, they began to play a dirge.
The eldest queen and the second queen wept and fainted.
The eldest Mahendra Śāha could not look when they carried away his father.
The eldest Mahendra Śāha, the eldest queen and the second queen
Went to Nārayan Hitī.
The second and third princes
Stationed themselves to the right and the left and made the supreme ritual offerings.
Sounding a dirge, offering the ritual gifts, thus they led
Tribhuvan to the Ārya Ghāt.

Beloved of the Nepalese...

The police told the spectators to go home.
Someone had posted up the time at which everyone would pass.
The funeral pyre had been prepared with sandal wood and camphor
They had covered Tribhuvan with leaves and with yellow silk.
And anointed Tribhuvan with the sixteen perfumes.
The second prince, walking seven times round the pyre, gave the dāgbatti
The sixteen Brahmans could not hold back the third prince.
The third prince wept and went out of his mind.
'It is not the fate of your father alone; everyone will have to go one day',
Said the sixteen Brahmans.
'You do not need to go seven times round the pyre. That is enough'.
They only made him go three times round the pyre.
The third prince lit the fire.
He said to the second prince, 'We will not call him 'Father' any more.
We will not call him 'Father' any more.
'It is like a dream, my brother.
It is like a dream, my brother'.
The third prince began to weep, beat his chest and fainted.

Beloved of the Nepalese...

'Do not go to Nārayan Hiṭī',
Said Mahendra Śāha.
The two brothers went by car to their palace at Kālimāti.
The daughters of Nara Samśer saw them from their window as they arrived in tears;
At the sight of their husbands, the daughters of Nara Samśer beat their breast, wept and fainted.

15. We do not know of a list of sixteen perfumes. The number sixteen is possibly used here to represent a totality, hence 'all sorts of perfumes'. We only know of a list of eight perfumes: śrikhaṇḍa, agaru, kapur, kasturī, gorocan, kumkum, hattiko mad, lakṣārās in Pujādānādi sāmāgrī pradarśikā by GOVINDACANDRA UPĀDHYĀ, Benares, 2014, B.S., p. 8. For dāgbatti, cf. infra, 10, 1/4, p. 88.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

nepālīkā prem ni...

tera din pugepachi
jeṭha mahendra śahale
maṭar dan hatti dan ghoḍa dan garibaksyo
kancha yubarajle hajar gai dan garibaksyo
hajar ghoḍa sun dan garibaksyo
māhilā yubarajle cāḍi dan sun dan garibaksyo
mero buvā baikuṇṭha bās hunu bhayo kancha yubaraj runaraj runalāge
ṭhoki ṭhoki

nepālīkā prem ni āja timī kata harāyau hāi bīr tribhuvan nepālīlāi
sunya garayau
hāi bīr tribhuvan nepālīlāi sunya garayau

Tape 8, 11/9 and 9, 1/1

Hare ṭipaũ ṭipaũ phakreko phakreko phūllāi gāsaũ mālā kopilai naṭipaũ
ṭipaũ ṭipaũ...

dui hajar satra sāl
pus ek gate[1] mantriharu samatie Siṁhadarbāraimā[2]
Śrī pāc sarkār[3] Mahendra Śāhko pratāple
mantri jati thunidiyā Siṁhadarbāraimā
mantri jati samatiyā Siṁhadarbāraimā
mantri jati thunidiyā Siṁhadarbāraimā Siṁhadarbāraimā

ṭipaũ ṭipaũ phakreko...

biṣesvarko[4] gharsamet pani sarbasse bhayo
svāsniko dāijo sāt lākh bhanī bhanī biṣesvarle bhanyo
sāt lākh dāijo dine bābu āmako darjā ke cha
tyo bicār garnu bhanī Śri pāc sarkārko bhayo ta hukum
sāt lākh dāijo bhanī
pāc sarkārko bhayo ta hukum

ṭipaũ ṭipaũ phakreko...

1. On the period described by this song one can read GUPTA, op. cit., I, p. 238 sq., and JOSHI and ROSE, op. cit., p. 384 sq.

2. On the Simha Darbar, cf. 7, 11/3, p. n. I; and LANDON, op. cit., I, p. 186-190.

3. śrī is a respectful term of address. TUKER (op. cit) explains: "In Nepal, the duties of Commanders-in-Chief had come to be far less concerned with the armed forces than with purely civil administration. The system which the Maharajah Bhim Shamsher and his late chief had

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Beloved of the Nepalese...

The thirteenth day
The eldest Mahendra Śāha
Gave away cars, elephants, and horses.
The third prince gave away a thousand cows, a thousand horses and some gold.
The second prince gave away silver and gold.
'My father is in paradise', said the third prince, and he began to weep, beating his chest.

Beloved of the Nepalese, where have you gone today? Alas, brave Tribhuvan, you leave the Nepalese in deep distress! Alas, brave Tribhuvan, you leave the Nepalese in deep distress!

THE END OF MINISTER KOIRALA

O let us gather, gather flowers that have opened and let us weave garlands; let us not gather buds.

Let us gather, gather...

In the year 2017,
The first day of Paus, the Ministers were arrested in the Simha Darbā
On the order of his Majesty Mahendra Śāha
All the Ministers were shut in the Siṃha Darbār.
All the Ministers were arrested in the Siṃha Darbār.
All the Ministers were shut in the Siṃha Darbār, in the Siṃha Darbār.

Let us gather, gather...

The goods and even the house of Biṣesvar were confiscated.
Biṣesvar said that his wife had brought a dowry of 700,000 (rupees).
His Majesty (Mahendra Śāha) declared, 'What rank of parents could give a dowry of 700,000 (rupees)? Think of that,
A dowry of 700,000,' declared his Majesty.

Let us gather, gather...

evolved in the provinces was somewhat akin to that of British India. The maharajah was de facto ruler of the country, being the Marshal of the Gurkhas as well as head of the civil government. He was advised by a council of Bharadars or Nobles and by certain state officials whenever he saw fit to call for their advice. The King was known as the Panch Sarkar, his name being preceded by five sri's; the Maharajah was the Tin Sarkar, his name being preceded by three sri's an honour granted to him by the King for his services in the Mutiny and the Tibetan War' (p. 203). Cf. also LANDON, op. cit., I, p. 233-246. Sarkār means literally 'the government', cf. LEVI, op. cit., I, p. 290 sq. We are far today from the time when Lévi could write, p. 288, "The king today has no more than a sort of nominal position, the only representative of the country recognised by foreign powers. "Cf. e.g. GUPTA, op. cit., I, p. 265 sq. for an evaluation of the role of the king during recent years.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

uhī pachi ni biṣesvar[5]
uhī pachi ni Gaṇeśmanko[6] ghar pani sarbasse bhayo
narīmā bānne ghaḍī ek saya pancannabbe
sāt ḍallā ta sun sarbasse garibaksyo

ṭipaũ ṭipaũ phakreko...

jāḍāle marna ãtyaũ bhanī mantriharū karāyā ni Siṁhadarbāraimā
Śrī pãc sarkār Mahendra Śāhle ekai ḍhvāṅ[7] gol dinu
ago tapnalāi bhanī

ṭipaũ ṭipaũ phakreko...

gāi bhaĩsī bheḍā bākhrā kukhrā hãsko pani ṭyāksi linu parcha bhanī
Biṣesvarle yasto gajeṭ banāekā thiyā
Mahendra Śāhko prataple ni tyo gajeṭ
jammai khatam bhaya

ṭipaũ ṭipaũ phakreko...

rāja kāja garchu bhanī aghi aghi sare (bis)
jo jo garcha rāja kāja āphnai bhũḍi bhare (bis)

ṭipaũ ṭipaũ phakreko...

bheḍā pachi bheḍī lāge boko pachi boko[8]
sirmā bhae pagarī ta rājya khāne dhoko (bis)

ṭipaũ ṭipaũ phakreko...

sorai mantrile pani Siṁhadarbārmā ni
kunai parṭimā ni
jāne chainau bhanī
sahī chāp garāidiyā
Gaṇeśman Biṣesvarlai[9] sundarijalmā
aba lage thunna

Tape 13, 1/4

Hera hera dāju bhāi (bis) dhulikhelko[1] janaklāllāi māryo chaṭṭuko jālaile
marvaḍiko[2] balle

belukāko das baje
janaklāllāi marī
maṭarmā halī

4. Our singer's 'Biṣesvar' is B.P. Koirala, Prime Minister of the country before the events of 15 December 1960. For a list of other members of his government see GUPTA, op.cit., p. 275.

5. 'Then Biṣesvar': the singer makes a mistake and starts again.

6. Ganeśmān is the Ganesh Man Singh of JOSHI and ROSE (op. cit., p. 550) and of GUPTA, (op. cit., p. 222).

7. ḍhvāṅ, TURNER, op. cit., p. 269, 'an iron or galvanized iron vessel'. It must mean in this context a kind of charcoal container, the size of which we do not know.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Then Biṣesvar
Then Ganeśman's house was also confiscated.
A watch band to the value of 195 (rupees)
And seven lumps of gold were confiscated.

Let us gather, gather...

The Ministers in the Siṃha Darbār cried, 'We will die of cold'.
His Majesty Mahendra Śāha (ordered) that they each be given a charcoal dhvāṅ to keep himself warm.'

Let us gather, gather...

Biṣesvar had published an order imposing a tax
On cows, buffalos, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks.
Mahendra Śāha had the order completely annulled.

Let us gather, gather...

Those who had come forward to proclaim their attachment to the State, (bis)
As far as the State was concerned, they were preoccupied with their own affairs (bis)

Let us gather, gather...

The rams follow the ewes, the he-goats follow the she-goats.
As soon as a man has a position he becomes ambitious to possess the kingdom. (bis)

Let us gather, gather...

The sixteen Ministers in the Siṃhadarbār
Were made to promise in writing that they would not enter any (political) party.
Then Ganeśman and Bisesvar were imprisoned at Sundarijal.

THE DEATH OF JANAKLAL

Listen, listen, my friends, (bis) Janaklāl of Dhulikhel has been killed through the treachery of Chaṭṭu and the power of the Mārvāḍi.

At ten o'clock in the evening,
He killed Janaklal,
Put him in a car.

8. In the text, the he-goats follow the he goats: the singer made a mistake.

9. 'Ganeśmān' and 'Bisesvar' were, we believe, the ohly ministers to refuse to sign the declaration and this is why they were put under house arrest in a house between Sundarijal (in the North East corner of the Valley) and Cangu Nārayan. The two former Ministers were still in this house in May 1967.

1. Dhulikhel is a village of East no. I.

2. For Mārvāḍi, cf. H. YULE and A.C. BURNELL, Hobson-Jobson, London, 1903 s.v. Marwaree, p. 561. Unfortunately we were not able to obtain the Nepalese papers in Paris which would have given us the details of this shady question of murder.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

lagī phālīdiyo rānī pokharīko[3] ḍīlmā
pulisle lāślai
bholi palṭa bihāna
pulisle jāc̃na lāgyo bīr aspatālmā[4] rājā bīr aspatālmā

hera hera dāju bhāi dhulikhelko janaklāllāi māryo chaṭṭuko jālaile
mārvaḍiko balle

lāslāi jāc̃na khojyo ḍākṭarle
das hajār rupiyā ghus khāi ā̃khā cimlera
janatāle heryo bīr aspatālko kyāmpā gherera rājā kyāmpā gherera

hera hera dāju bhāi dhulikhelko janaklāllāi māryo chaṭṭuko jālaile
ramram mārvaḍiko balle

nispakṣe jāc̃ hos bhanī
karāyo janatā sabai milera
pherī pani ḍākṭarko bathān khaṭiyo
lāślāi ramro gari jāc̃na bhanīkana
pānī bāhirai mareko ho bhanī
karāyo janatā sabai milera rājā julūs uṭhera

hera hera dāju bhāi dhulikhelko janaklāllāi māryo chaṭṭuko jālaile
ramram mārvaḍiko balle

baiśākh[5] mahinā tera gate āitabārko din
ciṭhī pugyo dhulikhelmā
reśamlāl bābu gangā devī āmā
māilo bhāi, dil bahādur, chātī ṭhokī murchāparī royā
najāu najāu bhandā bhandai akālmā praṇ phālyau rājā akālmā praṇ
phālyau (bis)

hera hera dāju bhāi dhulikhelko janaklāllāi māryo chaṭṭuko jālaile
mārvaḍiko balle

guṭhī[6] khalak dājubhāi reśamlāl bābu
māilo bhāi dil bahādur
bīr aspatālmā āipuge
janaklāllāi pachyaurāle chopera rākhi choḍeko dekhī
reśamlāl bābule pachyaurā ughārī
janaklālko mukh dekhdākheri murchāparī roe murchāparī roe

hera hera dāju bhāi dhulikhelko janaklāllāi māryo chaṭṭuko jālaile

3. The Rānī-Pokhari is to the North West of the Tũdikhel. Cf. e.g. ELLIOTT. op. cit., p. 92-93; FORBES, op. cit., p. 42-43, 174; LÉVI op. cit., II, p. 23; LANDON, op. cit., I, p. 99; T.W CLARK has published a very important article on "The Rani-Pokhri inscription, Kāthmāndu", in BSOAS, 1957, XX

4. The Bir Hospital, to the West of the Tũdikhel is the main Nepalese hospital in Kathmandu. On an attempt to modernise this institution see E.B. MIHALY Foreign Aid and politics in Nepal, London 1965, p. 72.

5. Baiśākh corresponds to our April-May: it is the hottest time of the Nepalese year, before the arrival of the monsoon.

6. G.S. NEPALI (The Newars, Bombay, 1965) defines the guṭhi thus: 'a trust or establishment which manages and looks after religious pro-

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Took him and threw him down on the edge of the Rānī Pokharī
Early the next day the police
Took the body to Bir Hospital for a post mortem,
Sir, to Bir Hospital.

Listen, listen, my friends...

The doctor sought to do the post mortem.
Closing his eyes he accepted a bribe of 10,000 rupees.
The people watched, crowding round the walls of Bir Hospital, Sir.

Listen, listen, my friends...

The people all joined in demanding
An honest examination.
Thereupon a group of doctors was appointed
To examine the body carefully.
All the people shouted together,
'He died out of the water!'
And a demonstration started, Sir.

Listen, listen, my friends...

On Sunday, the 13th day of Baiśākh
A letter arrived at Dhulikhel.
Reśamlāl the father, Gangā devī the mother,
Dil Bahadur the younger brother, beat their breasts, cried and
went out of their minds.
They kept repeating, 'Do not go! Do not go! You have died before
your time, my dear, you have died before your time' (bis)

Listen, listen, my friends...

The male members of his guṭhī, his father Reśamlāl
His young brother Dil Bahādur
Came to Bir Hospital.
They saw that Janaklāl had been laid out there, covered with a shawl
His father Reśamlāl, taking off the shawl,
Seeing Janaklāl's face, went out of his mind and cried, went out
of his mind and cried.

Listen, listen, my friends...

perty or charitable funds. The Guṭhi splits the Newars into a number of social groups, on the basis of caste, kin and religion'; cf. chap. 7, p. 191-197; and C. ROSSER, "Social Mobility in the Newar Caste System", passim, in Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon, London, 1966, p. 68-139; cf. also BISTA, op. cit., p. 26-27.

7. For dubo, TURNER (op. cit., p. 315) gives: 'a particular kind of grass, Cynodon dactylon, used in sacrifice (esp. in worship of Gaṇeś)'.

8. Viṣṇumatī, LÉVI (op. cit., I, p. 50) says: 'The chief of the Nepalese tributaries of the Bagmati is the Viṣṇumatī which rises on the South side of Sheopuri, follows the foot of the mountains quite closely, and flows into the Bagmati almost in centre of the Valley'. Elsewhere he adds: '...the Viṣṇumatī would be more correctly called the Viṣṇu-padī for it rises like the Ganges from the foot of Viṣṇu. The Buddhists call it Keçavati, because it originated from the hair shaved when Krakunchanda ordained the Nepalese monks (Sv. p.., IV; Vamç. 81)' (p. 329).

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

sāt din samma bīr aspatālmā rākhī choḍeko janaklāllāi baiśākh mahinā ko ghāmmā
sāhrai ganna āyo bhanī
ek sayako attar kini reśamlāl bābule attar charki diyā
jalāuna liera āyā guṭhī khalak dāju bhāile
kādh kādhmā hāli
dubāko[7] māla lāidiyā reśamlāl bābule
jalāuna liera āyā car bajeko ṭaimmā viṣṇumatī tīrmā[8]
śrī khanḍa kapurko solā banāyā
pāt pitāmbarle[9] janaklāllāi chāyā
sāt phera reśamlāl bābule dāgbattī[10] diyā
māilo bhāi dil bahādurle āgo lāidiyā
reśamlāl bābu bāluvamā laḍibuḍī laḍibuḍī roeko dekhdākheri
herna āune lāvalaskar chātī ṭhokī royā ramram chātī ṭhoki royā

hera hera dāju bhāi dhulikhelko janaklāllāi māryo chaṭṭuko jālaile marvāḍiko balle

pyārelāl māıvāḍi giraphtār bhāi
pulisko kanūnle thānamā thunidiyā
caudhai mantrile yo mudda chinna sakena
ke āi siṅg[11] bahādur mantri hunāsāth
pyārelāl marvāḍilāi bīs barṣa jhyālkhānā hālidiyā ke āī single jhyālkhānā hālidiyā

hera hera dāju bhāi dhulikhelko janaklāllāi maryo chaṭṭuko jālaile marvāḍiko balle (bis).

Tape 10, 1/4

jānai paryo jānai paryo birānāko deś hoina māitī rājai jānai paryo jānai paryo birānāko deś[1] (bis)

nidhār bhari acheta[2] rātā sīdūr[3] māthmā (bis)
bhaekī dhukka hāselī mukha ḍhakī[4] lī hataimā
hoina maitī[5] rajai jānai paryo birānako deś
asār[6] dekhi hairān thiyā hurhur[7] khetaimā
pariśram timro liera jau nachoḍī bicaimā (bis)

jānai paryo jānai paryo birānako deś ḍoli[8] thāpa janti[9] ho dinai lāge dinai lāge (bis)

9. Pitāmbar cf. sk. pītāmbara, MONIER-WILLIAMS, op. cit,, p. 630 q.v. 'dressed in yellow clothes', etc.

10. For dāgbattī, ŚARMA gives (op. cit., p. 505): dāha-saṃskārkā nimti chorā vā najikkā nātādārle śvakā mukhmā rākhne battī 'a lamp placed in the mouth of the body by the son or a near relative for the cremation'. Cf. the use of dāgbattī and dubo in 9, 1/2 supra.

11. On K. I. Singh, cf. GUPTA, op. cit., index, p. 330-331.

1. This song, half narrative, half dialogue, would be sung (by several voices?) in front of the bride's house at the moment when she leaves for her husband's house

2. For acheta, cf. TURNER, op. cit., p. 3, s.v. akṣatā.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Left seven days in the Baiśākh sun at Bir Hospital, Janaklal smelt very bad.
Noticing it, his father Resamlāl bought a hundred rupees worth of perfume which he scattered about.
The members of his guṭhī hoisted (Janaklāl) on their shoulders and took him away to be cremated.
His father Resamlāl laid a garland of dubo on him.
At four o'clock they brought him to the bank of the Viṣṇumāti for the cremation.
They made a pyre with sandal wood and camphor.
They covered Janaklāl with leaves and with yellow silk.
His father Resamlāl gave the dāgbattī seven times.
His young brother Dil Bahādur lit the fire.
Seeing the father Resamlāl roll weeping on the sand,
The crowd of spectators beat their breasts and cried, ram ram, beat their breasts and cried.

Listen, listen, my friends...

The Mārvāḍi Pyarelāl has been arrested.
According to the rules of the police he has been locked up at the station.
The fourteen ministers could not bring the trial to an end.
The noble K.I. Singh, when he became Minister, gave twenty years in prison to the Mārvāḍi Pyarelāl; K.I. Singh threw him in prison.

Listen, listen, my friends... (bis)

o

We must go, we must go to a strange land, mustn't we dear family and friends, we must go to a strange land! (bis)

Red acheṭā on my forehead and sīdūr in my parting (bis)
With a calm mind, a smiling face, a basket in my hand.
We must go, mustn't we dear family and friends, to a strange land.
Since Asār you have been exhausted by the coming and going in the fields.
Take your pain with you; do not forget it en route (bis)

We must go, we must go to a strange land you, friends of the bridegroom. prepare the litter; they are going to give her away, they are going to give her away! (bis)

3. For sīdūr, cf. ibid., p. 604, q.v.

4. dhakī is a small basket for carrying fruit and flowers. One wonders if this line does not refer to the bride's mother, for the bride does not usually carry anything as she leaves her parents' house.

5. S.v. māiti, TURNER indicates clearly (ibid., p. 499): 'a married woman's own relatives (from the husband's point of view this is sasurāli wife's relatives, and from the children's it is mawali mother's relatives)'. Our translation is only a paraphrase. rāja/rājai in this context does not mean 'king' but 'gentlemen'.

6. asār, third month of the Nepalese year, corresponds to our June-

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

timrī chorī ruvāi laijāulā (bis)
hoina māiti rajai timrī chorī ruvāi ruvāi laijāũlā (bis)
ḍoli thāpa janti ho dinai lāge dinai lāge
dinai lāge dinai lāge ḍolī thāpa janti ho dinai lāge dinai lāge
dolī thāpa janti ho dinai lāge dinai lāge
māyā mārī gaihālyau birānāko des (bis)·
āmā bābu runalāge dhuru dhuru tyahi (bis)
ḍolī thāpa janti ho dinai lāge dinai lāge
ḍolima halidie babuāmāle
dulahī runalāgin dhuru dhuru[10]
mādal bajyo ghuntalā ghuntalā[11]
dulahī runalāgin dhuru dhuru
ḍoli thāpa janti ho dinai lāge dinai lāge
timri chorī ruvāi ruvāi laijaulā
hoina māiti rajai timrī chorī ruvāi ruvāi laijāũlā (bis)
timrī chorī ruvāi ruvāi laijāulā hoina māiti rajai timrī chorī ruvāi ruvāi laijāũlā.

Tape 14, 1/6

Euṭā curoṭ dĩdaina pasale
maya lāũcha mukh(a)ko raś(a)le

āu ta bhane āũdinau kākhaimā (bis)
jhamke phulī[1] ke lāũchyau nākaimā (bis)

jīnko[2] colo kalale silāyo (bis)
luto āyo cākaimā cilāyo (bis)

cautāromā[3] dui jānā suteko (bis)
ghorle buḍho jurukka uṭheko (bis)

chama chama[4] naci deū dhana (bis)
bairagīko bujāideu yo mana (bis)

July; it is marked by the beginning of the rainy season and intense activity in the fields.

7. hurhur is an anukaran word, similar to our onomatopoeia. Cf. TURNER, p. 637: harra-hurra 'a great confusion, noisy bustle'.

8. ḍoli (cf. supra, 13, 1/1), TURNER (op. cit., p. 263) gives: 'litter (made of cloth darwar hung on a pole dāṛi)'. That is the usual form of ḍoli in the Valley. At Dāng (interior Terai), I was able to establish at a jaisi bahun wedding in 1967 that they used a carpai (ibid., p. 172: 'bedstead'). Throughout the marriage ceremony the carpai was called, 'doli'. Cf. N.M. PENZER (Poison damsels and other essays in folklore and anthropology, London, 1952, p. 233-237) who has gathered a considerable amount of documentation round the word ḍoli.

9. The janti are those who accompany the boy when he visits the house of his fiancée's parents on the eve of the wedding. BISTA writes: 'The wedding party, the janti, consists only of men except for one or two maid servants who are there as personal attendants to the bride and the groom. The whole janti party is preceded by a

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

We are going to take your daughter away even if she cries. (bis)
Aren't we, dear family and friends, we are going to take your daughter away even if she cries. (bis)
Friends of the birdegroom, prepare the litter; they are going to give her away, they are going to give her away.
They are going to give her away, they are going to give her away, friends of the bridegroom, prepare the litter.
Friends of the bridegroom, prepare the litter; they are going to give her away, they are going to give her away.
Ending our love, you left for a strange land. (bis)
Thereupon the mother and the father began to sob. (bis)
Friends of the bridegroom, prepare the litter; they are going to give her away, they are going to give her away.
The father and mother placed her in the litter.
The bride began to sob.
They played the drum, ghuntalā, ghuntalā
The bride began to sob.
Friends of the bridegroom, prepare the litter; they are going to give her away, they are going to give her away.
We are going to take your daughter away even if she cries.
Aren't we, dear family and friends, we are going to take your daughter away even if she cries. (bis)
We are going to take your daughter away even if she cries. Aren't we, dear family and friends, we are going to take your daughter away even if she cries.

The shop keeper does not give a single cigarette
But he talks seductively.

If I say, 'Come and sit on my knee!, you do not come. (bis)
How will you wear a nose ring? (bis)

I sew a blouse on the machine of jeans. (bis)
I have got an itch. My behind itches. (bis)

On the cautara two people are asleep. (bis)
The fat old man gets up quickly. (bis)

O Dhana, dance, (jingling your rings) chama chama. (bis)
Rejoice the heart of this poor man. (bis)

musical band, and is received with great respect and enthusiasm by the bride's people at her home. They are entertained with a feast before the actual wedding ceremony takes place' (op. cit., p. 7).

10. TURNER (op. cit., p. 330), s.v. dhuru dhuru, gives: 'adv. in dhº runu to weep bitterly or profusely'. dhuru dhuru is an anukaran word.

11. ghuntalā is an anukaran word.

1. TURNER (ibid., p. 229) gives for jhamke: "adj. in jhamke bulaki, a pendant nose ornament", and for phuli (p. 409): "a nose ornament worn on the outside of one nostril".

2. jin is the English jean, abbreviation of blue-jeans.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

hariyo naulako[5] bariyo (bis)
jyanle maya marekai ṭhahariyo

jyanle maya marekai ṭhahariyo
jyanle maya marekai ṭhahariyo

kalko pani e bahini nani (bis)
bhaka rakhne nagara tyo bani (bis)

kalko pani e bahini nani
hamro gharma jane ki najane

bhimphedima[6] maṭitelkā ṭinkā ṭin[7] (bis)
sano maya bheṭ huncha din kā din (bis)

hataima cãdiko baṭṭā (bis)
gharma choro roera caupaṭṭa (bis)

sri sri[8] dantaima biri[9] (bis)
malai pani laijauna junkiri

malai pani laijauna junkiri
relko bhara cha paisa riṇtiri (bis)

pani miṭho sundhara[10] hiṭiko (bis)
boli mitho baudhale[11] ṭhiṭiko (bis)

sapanama cãdiko dam payã
sano maya dui dinko ram chayã

parkha parkha baudhale dai ho (bis)
hami pani baudhama jane ho (bis)

chama chama naci deu dhana (bis)
bairagiko bujai deu yo mana (bis)

3. cautaro, as TURNER says (op. cit., p. 186), is: "a platform built of earth, plaster or brick for sitting on, erected usually under a tree or at a cross-roads".

4. chama chama, cf. ibid., p. 192: 'cham cham in cham cham garnu, to make a sound', 'chamchamaunu, to cause to sound, cause to jingle or tinkle'

5. naulā, according to ŚARMA (op. cit., p. 590), naulo = nayã = 'new'.

6. On Bhimpedi, cf. e.g. LÉVI, op. cit., I, p. 124, L. PETECH, Il Nuovo Ramusio, II, 2nd part, Rome, 1952, p. 212; LANDON, op. cit., I, p. 177.

7. Empty kerosene tins play a very important role in the life of many Asiatic populations. They are used to carry water, to store and carry all sorts of goods, etc.; cut and bent they can even be used for shelves or to fill gaps in roofs and walls of houses.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

The new cord is green. (bis)
My love, you have surely forgotten me.

My love, you have surely forgotten me.
My love, you have surely forgotten me.

The water in the tap, eh, little sister. (bis)
Don't get into the habit of making promises. (bis)

The water in the tap, eh, little sister.
Are you coming to my house or not?

At Bhimpedi there are many kerosene tins. (bis)
You can meet your love every day. (bis)

In my hand I have a box of money. (bis)
In the house the son cries without stopping. (bis)

When you are happy your teeth shine. (bis)
O fire-fly, carry me away too.

O fire-fly, carry me away too.
Lend me six paisa for the rail fare. (bis)

The water of Sundhārā-hiṭī is sweet. (bis)
The voice of the girl from Bodhnāth is sweet. (bis)

In my dreams, I have money.
I believe in love for a day or two.

Wait, wait, gentlemen of Bodhnāth, (bis)
We also are agoing to Bodhnāth

O Dhana, dance chama chama. (bis)
Rejoice the heart of this poor man. (bis)

8. We take srī to be siri (TURNER, op. cit., 609: 'happiness').

9. S.v. biri, TURNER (ibid., p. 447) indicates: 'a particular kind of creeper, the seeds of which are used for cleaning the teeth'. This blackens at the same time as cleaning.

10. On the dhārā, cf. T.W. CLARK, Introduction to Nepali, Canbridge, 1963, p. 317-318. hiṭī means a water pipe. We believe the Sundhārā-hiṭī was constructed during the time of Bhim Sen Thāpā (Prime Minister: 1806-1837). Cf. LÉVI, op. cit., II, p. 22.

11. On Bodhnāth, cf. e.g. D.L. SNELLGROVE, "Shrines and temples of Nepal", Arts Asiatiques, 1961, VIII (2), p. 94: 'the great Khasti Shrine'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Tape 12, 11/3

Bolī mīṭho relimai suntalāvālīko / pheśan rāmro relimai khasiyā[1] garalko

selāṅgko re canā bhujā gohāṭīko pānī[2] (biṣ)
hāsi hāsi prītī lāune khasiyāko bānī
jamle bhai utai jāne kasto timro bānī

selāṅgko relimai pānīle gardā / poto basyo relimāī mvai khāne gālaimā

nandiyā ra manasinī indiyanī nām cha
ī garalko nām sansārle gaũcha

bolī mīṭho relimai suntalāvālīko / pheśan rāmro relimai khasiyā garalko

bāṭo kampaniko[3] lāũchan khurvāle juttā (bis)
ghaṅar laũchan khasiyāle kārchuvīko buṭṭā

bolī mīṭho relimai pānīle gardā / pheśan rāmro relimai khasiyā garalko

selāṅgko re canā bhujā gohāṭīko pānī
hāsi hāsi prītī lāune khasiyāko bānī
jasle bhandā utai jāne kasto timro bānī[4]

selāṅgko relimai pānīle gardā / poto niskyo relimai mvāī ta khāne gālaimā

1. On the Khasi of the Shillong region, cf. e.g. P.R.T. CURDON, The Khasis, London. 1907; and the article by the same author in HERE (Edinburgh, 1940, VII, p. 690-693), where he comments 'the females, when young, are comely and of a buxom type' (p.690); and 'the Khasi orange has always been famous for its excellence' (p.691).

2. We do not really understand this line which seems to reproduce the cry of the orange girl. 'Water from Gauhātī' remains a mystery.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

THE KHASIYA GIRL

She has a sweet voice, relimai, the orange girl. She is comely, relimai, the Khasiya girl.

Pois chiche, puffed rice from Shillong and water from Gauhāṭī. (bis)
The laughing ways of the Khasiya girl are bewitching
To go yonder arm in arm, is this your custom?

With the rain of Shillong, relimai, there's a mark on your cheek which asks to be kissed.

Nandīyā, Manasinī, Indiyanī, these are their names.
The names of those girls are sung by the whole world.

She has a sweet voice, relimai, the orange girl. She is comely, relimai, the Khasiya girl.

They wear high-heeled shoes from the Bata Company. (bis)
The Khasiyā wear dresses with embroidered designs.

She has a sweet voice, relimai, the orange girl. She is comely, relimai the Khasiya girl.

Pois chiche, puffed rice from Shillong and water from Gauhāṭī'.
The laughing ways of the Khasiyā girl are be witching
To go off with whoever wants to, is this your custom?

With the rain of Shillong, relimai, there's a mark on your cheek which asks to be kissed

3. The Bata Company are the biggest shoe-makers in India; they have agents and retailers in Nepal.

4. This song was probably brought back to Nepal by soldiers in service in Shillong or elsewhere in Assam; there is also in important labour force of Nepalese stock working in the mines of Assam. Cf. Dharma Rāj THĀPĀ op. cit., p. 142. Nowadays Nepalese work on the construction of roads in the NEFA. The cultural context of this song is not that of Puritan Nepal.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Remarks on Nepali Sung Verse (II)

Although Nepalese spelling recognises the existence of long and short vowels, it would seem, if one analyses the structure of Nepāli songs, that we are dealing rather with a syllabic and accentual verse, where the important thing is the number of syllables (Nep. akṣar) in each verse (Nep. paṅkti). This observation agrees with what Sir R. Turner said in the articles, already quoted, in the Indian Antiquary without making explicit reference to Nepāli songs: 'As opposed to the artificial metres in Nepali (e.g. the translation of the Mahabhārata) which are made to depend on a system of quantity no longer existing, this popular metre depends on stress accent. The normal scansion here (– = stressed syllable and ∪= unstressed) is:

–∪∪ | –∪ ‖ –∪∪ | –∪ ‖ –∪∪ | –∪∪

This shows plainly the initial stress of Nepali words[1].

Verse forms

What verse forms[2] have we encountered in the songs of the gāine ? We have picked out two, clearly discernable in spite of irregularities which can creep in, in different performances.

The most common verse form is one with 14 syllables and metrical pattern 8/6 or, more rarely, 7/7. It is illustrated in the couplets of 8,1/3; 10,11/2; 11,1/2; 12,1/2; 12,1/6; 12,1/7; 12,11/3; 13,1/2; 13,1/3. It is the type of verse which Money in his Gurkhali manual calls sailādāi and of which he gives several examples with musical notation (cf. songs nos. 1, 8, 10, 11, 13)[3]. We have noted other examples in the European and Nepali publications already quoted, and Dharma Rāj Thapā mentions it explicitly[4]. But this verse form is not peculiar to the Nepalese language, since it appears also in the popular literature of Bengal where it is called payār chanda[5].

The second verse form is one with 10 syllables and metrical pattern 5/5 or 4/6; it appears less frequently in the repertory of the gaine which we are studying, and is subject to more irregularities. It is found in the couplets of 7,11/3; 13,11/2; 14,1/6; 14,1/7, and also in the literary refrains of the following songs:

8, 1/3 Poile malāi ṭhaṭāyo hera
kaṭkaṭkaṭa daranai kiṭera

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

10,11/2	Umeraimā poi maryo mero yo gharnai lāgdacha ādhyāro
11,11/6	Javānile choeko hũdā gayo sarir din rātnai rũda
12,11/3	Bolī mīṭho relimai suntalāvāliko pheśan rāmro relimai khasiyā garalko
13, 1/1 bis	Cār din basnalāi keka ṭaṇṭā pīr yo jiu pāpi rahane chaina thir
13, 1/2	māthi māthi havāi jahāj uḍāune pṛthivīmā bhoṭ cunav garāune

(leaving out of account the word of the refrain '<u>relimai</u>' whose use will be explained in the comments on the language). The songs listed by Bernard Pignède often present this 10 syllable structure.

It sometimes happens that two verse forms are superimposed and one then finds a metrical structure where the first hemistich has 10 syllables, while the second hemistich has only 6[6].

Whichever type of verse one is dealing with, each one forms a syntactical unity, as one can easily see if one reads the translation of the songs (except 7,11/3 and 14,1/7).

<u>Structure of the Stanza</u>

Two isomorphic verses form a stanza whose first verse is called <u>phet</u>[7] and the second <u>ṭuppa</u>[8]. This structure of the stanza is reinforced by the presence at the end of the verse of a rhyme[9], usually open.

Nevertheless there are some examples of closed rhyme:

11, 1/2	Logne moro bheḍo cha sautāharū bhayaṅkar ek ãkhāle dekhdina sautā rãḍī kulaṅgar
14, 1/6	Bhimpeḍīmā maṭitelkā ṭinkā ṭin sano mayā bheṭ huncha din ka din
11,11/6	Kalpi kalpi roi rahancha yo dil garna paina kohi saṅga hil mil

In 13, 1/1 bis, in the Indian tradition, all the rhymes are in <u>īr</u>:

cār din basnalāi keko ṭaṇṭā pīr
yo jiu pāpī rahane chaina thir

A stanza or a group of stanzas are separated from each other by a literary refrain which may be heteromorphic as we have indicated in connection with the 10 syllable verse.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Repeats and metrical formulas

The presence of a rigorous parallelism in Nepalī sung verse is not only seen in the recurrence of verses presenting a regular number of syllables, or in the existence of a rhyme at the end of the verse; gāine singers use and abuse the total or partial repetition of verses, in certain cases to cover up a lapse of memory, but also in a systematic fashion. For this reason we included in the printed text all the 'bis' which were in the live performance. As well as these total repetitions, there are some partial ones:

a) repetition of formulas calling for one's attention at the beginning of the verse:

13, 1/4	hera hera dāju bhāi
13,11/1	phakāi phakāi lagyo malāi

b) repetition of a 6 syllable hemistich at the end of the verse:

9, 1/2	chāti ṭhokī ṭhokī, chatī ṭhokī ṭhokī
12, 1/7	hamro nepālma, hamro nepālmā (not given in Artibus Asiae, p. 193).

c) repetition of the last 6 syllable hemistich, preceded by a vocative:

9, 1/2	bhayo ta hukum(a) prabhū bhayo ta hukum(a)... ...maya mari kanai prabhū maya mari kanai
12, 1/2	garana bicara rājā garana bicara
12, 1/6	jhan dukha payaũ ni rājā jhan dukha pāyaũ ni

d) addition of a hemistich/extension?

14, 1/7	mero māyā chainaki sitārām parkha sangai jāũ

This added hemistich may rhyme with the hemistich which precedes it, which gives the effect of an echo:

13, 1/2	svatantrako nārale āja lyayaũ hera / nirbacan lahara
13, 1/3	nām nabhae myad chādai dabi gara hajur / prajātantra aucha jarur
13, 1/4	hera hera dāju bhāi dhulikhelko Janaklallai maryo chaṭṭuko jālaile / marvāḍiko balle

In songs of the karkhā type, the structure of the stanza being irregular, examples of parallelism are more difficult to pick out. Nevertheless one finds a frequent recurrence of certain formulas[10] whose metrical structure is identical to that of the hemistiches in the verse forms previously described. Thus, for expressing the date, we find metrical sequences of 6 or 8 syllables. For example:

8,11/9	dui hajār satra sāl pus ek gate
9, 1/2	dui hajār eghara sāl... dui hajār eghara sāl cait pandra gate

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

this last sequence constituting a verse of 14 syllables. There are other identical formulas in:

13, 1/2 dui hajār pandra sāl phāgun pandra gate

or

13, 1/4 baiśākh mahina tera gate āitabārko din

The geographic setting of events also involves the use of formulaic[11] expressions. Thus in the karkhā 'The death of Tribhuvan' (9, 1/2) we follow the movements of the sovereign who is ill from the aeroport of Gaucar, gaucaran(ai)mā prabhū gaucaran(ai)mā to the clinic in Switzerland, svitjyarlaṇḍaimā prabhū svitjyarlaṇḍaimā via Delhi, dillī saharaimā prabhū dillī saharaimā; while a political event as recent as the fall of the Koirala Ministry in 1960 (8, 11/9) happens siṃhadarbaraimā...

The enumeration of characters gives rise to the use of formulaic expressions in which the number of syllables may vary during the course of one song, but in which the repeat is always in the same position in the verse. The song which relates the brave deeds of the soldiers during the second world war demonstrates this point.

7,11/3 ...bahādur samser khaṭiyā
...brahma samser khaṭiya
...rup bikram khaṭiya
...ghana samser khaṭiya
...balarām samser khaṭiyā

or

bahādur samser / ekrāj samser
nir (pronounced nihira) samser / kiraṇ samser
totra samser / toraṇ samser

and

kāli bahādur palṭan
śer siṃhanāth palṭan
mahendradal palṭan

One is dealing then with a process of substitution which can be used in a number of examples as, for example, in the same song 7, 11/3 where the literery refrain is varied in its first part, practically in every couplet, whereas the second part of the refrain remains unchanged,

jyān khukurī bhirera gorkhālī...
...hāi aiṭanko bolile gorkhālī...

In the karkhā 'The death of Tribhuvan' one finds:

aghi pani risallā / pachi pani risallā
aghi pani kāṅgres / pachi pani kāṅgres
aghi pani kāṅgres runalāge
pachi pani kāṅgres runalāge
aghi pani biraniko bājā bajayā
pachi pani biraniko bajā bajayā

There are many metrical sequences ending in bhanī in 8, 11/9, 9, 1/2 and 13, 1/4.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

We hope that these few examples will have sufficed to demonstrate just to what extent these songs, transmitted orally, show in their literary structure a fairly constant recourse to formulas and formulaic expressions. It remains to us now to try to show how, corresponding to this literary parallelism, there is a melodic and rhythmic parallelism which aids the memory of the gāine singer.

THE MUSIC

The metre of the songs could be worked out after they had been recorded on tape; but we must not forget that these songs are never recited, but always sung and benefit from an accompaniment on the sarāṅgi[12]. And so it is, in spite of the difficulties of the subject, the metrical / musical relationship which has held our attention. A very experienced ethnomusicologist, Constantin Brailoiu has said, 'The structure of sung verse remains for most languages, if not an enigma, then at least a continually debated point'[13].

The creativity of the gāine in the music of their songs seems relatively limited. They are content to use one of the innumerable traditional bhākhā[14] like the singers of jhamre described by Money in his Gurkhali manual: "Jhamre songs differ according to their tunes not according to the words. Each tune however has its own chorus. The words of the verses of one jhamre song can be sung in any other song provided they are adapted to the tune"[15].

One first remark must be made. On one hand, in fact, the gāine have used the same tune[16] for songs whose literary content varied a great deal; on the other hand the literary refrain frequently doubles with a musical refrain different from the tune used in the stanzas, which confirms Money's observation. But it does not seem in practice that a refrain is necessarily linked to any one given tune. But neither have we noticed two different tunes being used for the same literary refrain. However let us return to the melodic structure of the bhākhā. It seems that in the majority of cases, corresponding to a literary stanza of two rhyming lines there is a tune with two periods[17] of equal length which we will describe as A and B, each of the periods being in turn divisible into two equal sections. Moreover, to this theoretical plan can be juxtaposed melodic units of variable length either at the beginning or the end of the line. Which for a regular tune gives the following plan:

Period A	aI	a2
Period B	bI	b2

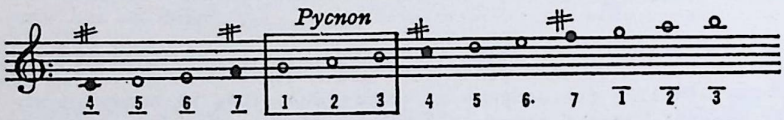
As we have already stressed, the gāine singer accompanies himself on a rustic sarāṅgi whose tuning plays a fundamental role in the melodic structure of the tunes. In fact the gāine tunes his instrument with great care with reference to a standard pitch, the sur which so often functions as a drone. To be precise, although the Nepalese do not apparently attach much importance to absolute pitch, we will say that the pitch of sur in our recordings is around ray_3. It has been established that in over half the recordings which have been analysed, the tunes ended on this note sur

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

which constitutes in the pentatonic scale (which the gāine use) the basis of what Constantin Brailoiu calls the pycnon[18]. This is the close succession of three notes forming an interval of a major third, a succession which only occurs once in the regular pentatonic scale.

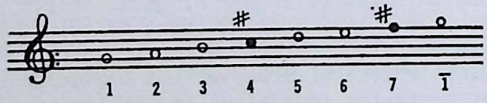
For convenience and to facilitate comparison, we will adopt here the system of notation advocated by Brailoiu and followed by many ethnomusicologists, a system according to which the note which corresponds to note I of the pycnon is transposed onto the stave from soh to soh, of the key in which it is written and the different notes of the pentatonic scale numbered as follows (the black notes with # above them represent the notes used episodically, whose pitch is not fixed, and which Brailoiu called pyen[19] after the Chinese theorists; in the notation which follows they will have an arrow above them to indicate whether the note is raised or lowered):

Ex. No. I



The ambit of the songs studied does not go beyond the interval of IIth and in Brailoiu's system of notation lies between the notes 6 and 2. Note that the general tendency of the songs is towards a descending scale and that melodic line proceeds by joined movements, the second period which forms a tune, ending in a great number of cases in a descent from the notes 2 or I to the note I, the base of the pycnon, and, it will be remembered the reference note for the tuning of the sārangi. It is found that all the songs with this characteristic descent and a cadence on the pycnon are in the Pentatonic I, the one in which the melodic line follows the progression:

Ex. No. I bis



or its inversion. Most of the songs of the gāine can in our opinion and in spite of the presence of the pyen be reduced to the Pentatonic I scale.

Let us look at some examples which will demonstrate this fundamental melodic structure of the songs of the gāine.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

For example, the tune used in the couplets of 8, 1/3: it can be classed under the following melodic plan:

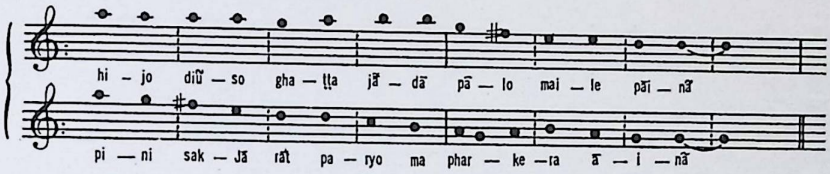
Period A: aI = $\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\bar{2}$-$\bar{3}$ (Pycnon)

a2 = I-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5

Period B: bI = 2-I-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-4-3

b2 = 3-2-I

8, 1/3 Ex. No. 2



We find the same tune slightly modified in the couplets of 13, 1/2:

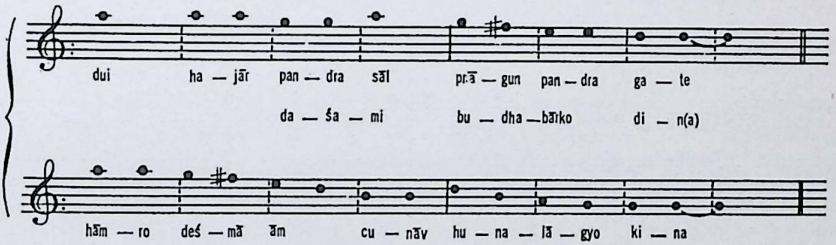
Period A: aI = $\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\bar{2}$

a2 = $\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5

Period B: bI = $\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-3

b2 = 5-3-2-I

13, 1/2 Ex. No. 3



and equally in IO, 1/4:

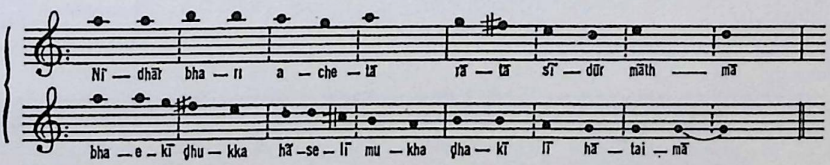
Period A: aI = $\bar{2}$-$\bar{3}$-$\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$

a2 = $\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5

Period B: bI = $\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-4-3-2

b2 = 3-2-I

10, 1/4 Ex. No. 4



Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

as in the song published in Artibus Asiae, I2, I/7:

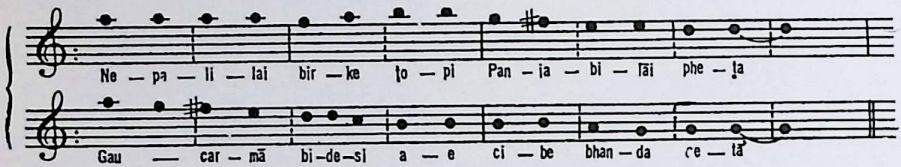
Period A: aI = $\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\bar{2}$-$\bar{3}$

a2 = $\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5

Period B: bI = $\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-4-3

b2 = 3-2-I

I2, I/7 Ex. No. 5



In the performance of song I3, II/I, a melodic extension precedes period B, which gives:

Period A: aI = $\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\bar{2}$-$\bar{3}$

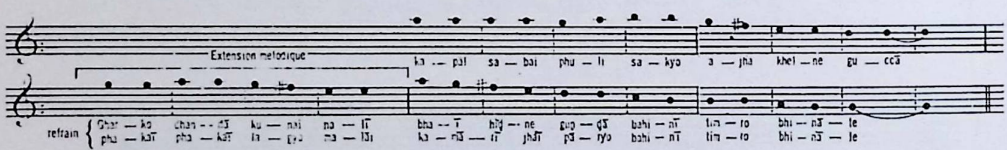
a2 = $\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5

Extension $\bar{I}$-$\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6 (= Incipit trichordal IIa in the Brailoiu system)

Period B: bI = $\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-4-3

b2 = 3-2-I

I3, II/I Ex. No. 6



whereas in II, I/2 the formula of intonation corresponding to the melodic section aI differs:

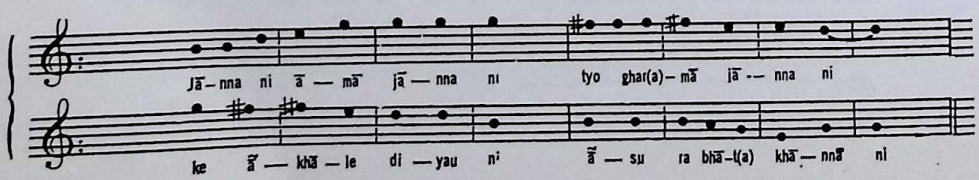
Period A: aI = 3-5-6-$\bar{I}$ (= Incipit trichordal IIb in the Brailoiu system)

a2 = $\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5

Period B: bI = $\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-3

b2 = 3-2-I-6-I (Pycnon + cadence 6-I)

II. I/2 Ex. No. 7



Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

same intonation with some ornamental notes in I0, II/2, the performance of which, unlike the preceding pieces, is not strictly syllabic; the rest of the tune conforms to the model already given:

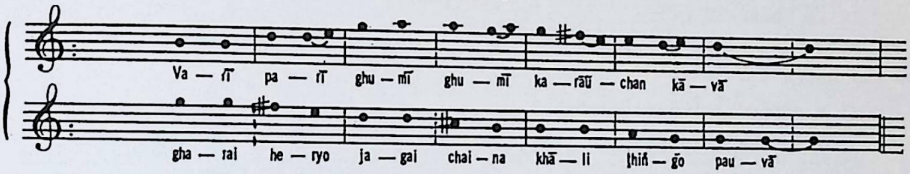
Period A: aI = 3-5-6-$\bar{I}$-$\bar{2}$

a2 = $\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5

Period B: bI = $\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-4-3

b2 = 3-2-I

I0, II/2 Ex. No. 8



Let us summarise the above observations in the form of a table:

	aI	a2	bI	b2
8, I/3	$\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\bar{2}$-$\bar{3}$	$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5	$\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-$\overset{\uparrow}{4}$-3	3-2-I
13, I/2	$\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\bar{2}$	$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5	$\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-3	5-3-2-I
I0, II/4	$\bar{2}$-$\bar{3}$-$\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$	$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5	$\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-$\overset{\uparrow}{4}$-3-2	3-2-I
12, I/7	$\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\bar{2}$-$\bar{3}$	$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5	$\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-$\overset{\uparrow}{4}$-3	3-2-I
13, II/I	$\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\bar{2}$-$\bar{3}$	$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5		
		+ $\bar{I}$-$\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6	$\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-$\overset{\uparrow}{4}$-3	3-2-I
II, I/2	3-5-6-$\bar{I}$	$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5	$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-3	3-2-I-$\underline{6}$-I
I0, II/2	3-5-6-$\bar{I}$-$\bar{2}$	$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5	$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-$\overset{\uparrow}{4}$-3	3-2-I

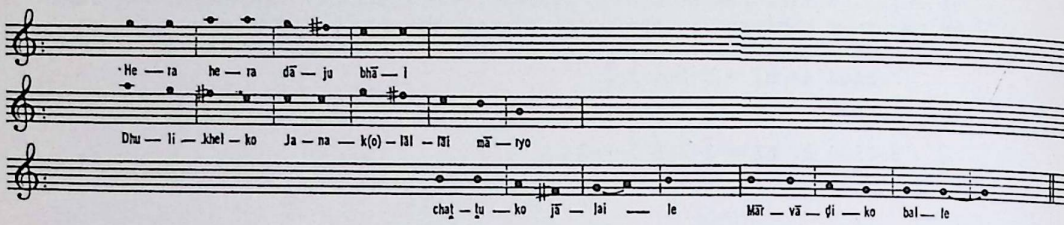
We are struck by the symmetry of construction between the sections which together constitute the tunes used and the constancy of a phenomenon well-known to ethnomusicologists and generally designated by the term 'mutation to the fifth' between the finales of periods A and B.

The period A in fact always ends on note 5 of the Pentatonic scale, while period B covers the whole of the Pentatonic scale descending from $\bar{2}$ to I. Moreover the importance of note 3 may be emphasized at the end of the section aI and the constancy of note 3 at the end of section bI.

The structural importance of notes I, 3, 5 is still evident in the tunes which are less symmetrically built up than those we have analysed so far, and which serve as supports for certain literary refrains; for example the refrain from I3, I/4 which can moreover be compared with 12, I/7:

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Refrain 13, I/4 Ex. nº 9



It is composed of:

I) a formula of calling attention, forming a detachable anacrouse on the notes $\bar{I}$-$\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6

2) a period $\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-3

3) an extension which is like a melodic parenthesis 3-2-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-I-2-3

4) a cadence formula on the three notes of the Pycnon 3-2-I
These melodic elements, arranged in various ways, some of them being repeated, in part or in whole, form the components of the songs with irregular verse forms of the karkha type

Ex. no. IO (refer, p. 248-249).

of which we propose the following analysis:

a) for an intonation of a declamatory nature on the notes $\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$, certain metrical sequences will use only the note $\bar{I}$

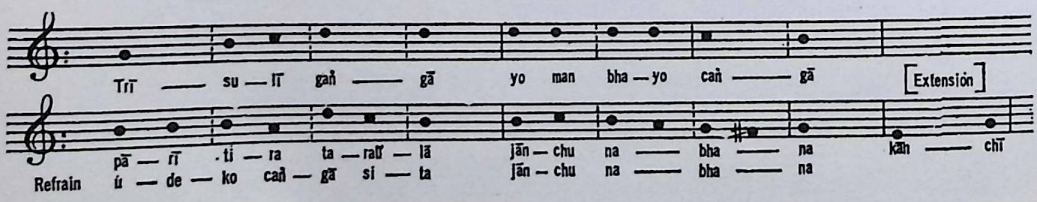
b) a section $\bar{2}$-$\bar{I}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6, eventually prolonged by an extension
$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-3-5- or $\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-4-3

c) a cadence formula on the three notes of the Pycnon.

In the same way the melodic sections constituting the refrain of 9, I/2, alternately elided and slightly extended, serve as support to the different metrical sequences which constitute the couplets of the song in Ex. No. II (infra). Here again the melodic sections end on the strong notes already indicated: 5 or 6 for the section A, 3 for the section B, I for the cadence formula.

Although the majority of the songs in the repertory we are studying may, as we have shown, be classed under Pentatonic I as defined by Constantin Brailoiu, inseveral cases, the note of the Pycnon does not correspond to the standard pitch for the tuning of the sārangi (sur), but to a fourth above this sur, and the melodic profile of these tunes leads one to class them under Pentatonic V, characterised by the succession 6-($\overset{\uparrow}{7}$)-I-2-3-($\overset{\uparrow}{4}$)-5-6. We will give three examples:

I3, Ex. No. I2



Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Period A: aI = I-3-4-5

a2 = 5-4-3

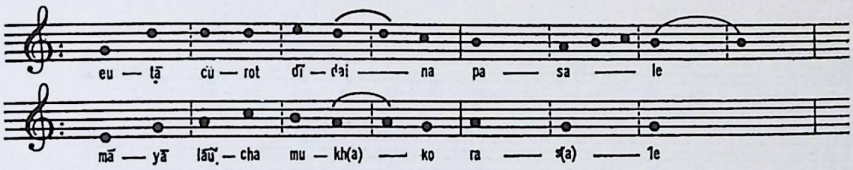
Period B: bI = 3-2-5-4-3

b2 = 3-4-3-2-I-$\underline{7}$-I + $\underline{6}$-I

This tune, like the preceding ones, is formed from two periods A and B, but the period B is also the melodic refrain.

Song I4 I/6, whose words remind one of a part song and which is not characteristic of the repertory of the gaine, should also in our opinion be considered as an example of the use of Pentatonic V:

I4, I/6 Ex. No. I3



Period A: aI = I-5-6-5-4

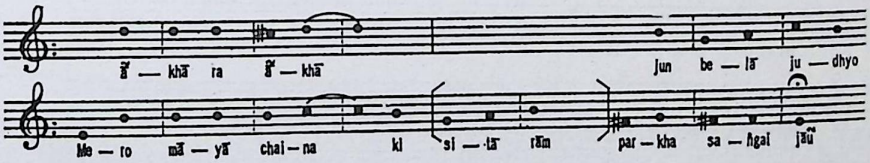
a2 = 3-2-3-4-3

Period B: bI = $\underline{6}$-I-2-4-3-2-I

b2 = 2-I

Finally, the tune used for songs as different in literary tenor as 7, II/3 and I4, I/7 both equally illustrate the Pentatonic V (as in the case of I3, II/2, Ex. No. I2, period B functions as a refrain).

I4, I/7 Ex. No. I4



Period A: aI = 5-4-5

a2 = 3-2-2-4-3

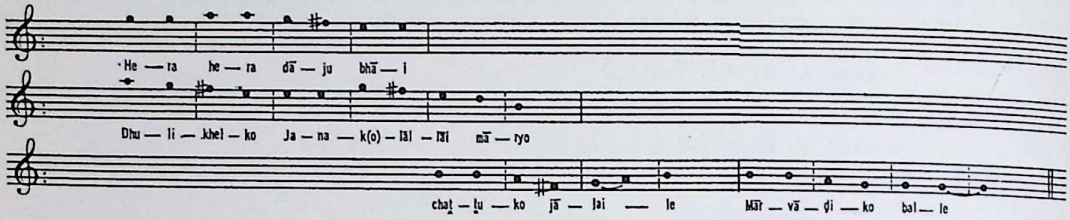
Period B: bI = 6-3-4-3 + I-2-3

b2 = 7-I-7-6

The only example of Pentatonic IV (succession $\underline{5}$-$\underline{6}$-($\underline{7}$)-I-2-3-($\underline{4}$)-5)? which we have taken corresponds to a tune used in the couplets of I2, II/3 and I3, I/I; this tune is composed of a single period repeated three times, the fourth line of the literary stanza ending on a distinct cadence formula (which we will designate as a'2) which gives:

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Refrain 13, I/4 Ex. nº 9



It is composed of:

I) a formula of calling attention, forming a detachable anacrouse on the notes $\bar{1}$-$\bar{2}$-$\bar{1}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6

2) a period $\bar{2}$-$\bar{1}$-7-6-$\bar{1}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-3

3) an extension which is like a melodic parenthesis 3-2-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-I-2-3

4) a cadence formula on the three notes of the Pycnon 3-2-I
These melodic elements, arranged in various ways, some of them being repeated, in part or in whole, form the components of the songs with irregular verse forms of the karkhā type

Ex. no. I0 (refer, p. 248-249).

of which we propose the following analysis:

a) for an intonation of a declamatory nature on the notes $\bar{2}$-$\bar{1}$, certain metrical sequences will use only the note $\bar{1}$

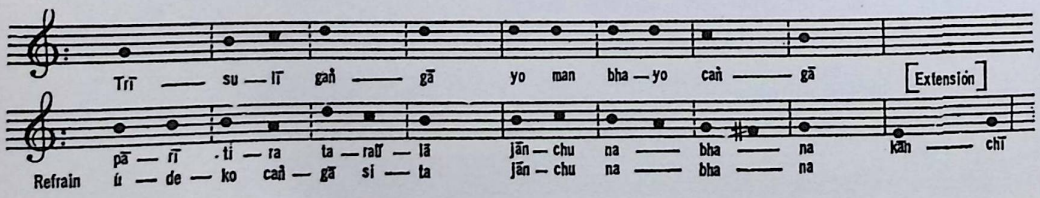
b) a section $\bar{2}$-$\bar{1}$-$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6, eventually prolonged by an extension
$\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-3-5- or $\overset{\uparrow}{7}$-6-5-$\overset{\uparrow}{4}$-3

c) a cadence formula on the three notes of the Pycnon.

In the same way the melodic sections constituting the refrain of 9, I/2, alternately elided and slightly extended, serve as support to the different metrical sequences which constitute the couplets of the song in Ex. No. II (infra). Here again the melodic sections end on the strong notes already indicated: 5 or 6 for the section A, 3 for the section B, I for the cadence formula.

Although the majority of the songs in the repertory we are studying may, as we have shown, be classed under Pentatonic I as defined by Constantin Brailoiu, inseveral cases, the note of the Pycnon does not correspond to the standard pitch for the tuning of the sārangi (sur), but to a fourth above this sur, and the melodic profile of these tunes leads one to class them under Pentatonic V, characterised by the succession 6-($\overset{\uparrow}{7}$)-I-2-3-($\overset{\uparrow}{4}$)-5-6. We will give three examples:

I3, Ex. No. I2



Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Period A: aI = I-3-4-5

a2 = 5-4-3

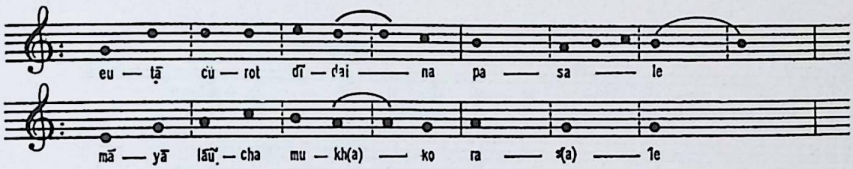
Period B: bI = 3-2-5-4-3

b2 = 3-4-3-2-I-$\underline{7}$-I + $\underline{6}$-I

This tune, like the preceding ones, is formed from two periods A and B, but the period B is also the melodic refrain.

Song I4 I/6, whose words remind one of a part song and which is not characteristic of the repertory of the gaine, should also in our opinion be considered as an example of the use of Pentatonic V:

I4, I/6 Ex. No. I3



Period A: aI = I-5-6-5-4

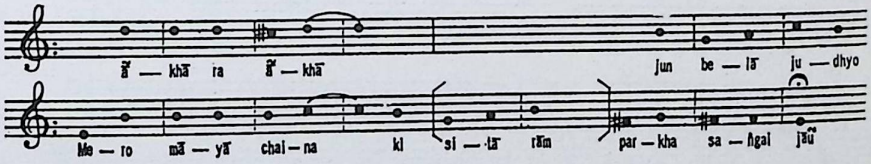
a2 = 3-2-3-4-3

Period B: bI = $\underline{6}$-I-2-4-3-2-I

b2 = 2-I

Finally, the tune used for songs as different in literary tenor as 7, II/3 and I4, I/7 both equally illustrate the Pentatonic V (as in the case of I3, II/2, Ex. No. I2, period B functions as a refrain).

I4, I/7 Ex. No. I4



Period A: aI = 5-4-5

a2 = 3-2-2-4-3

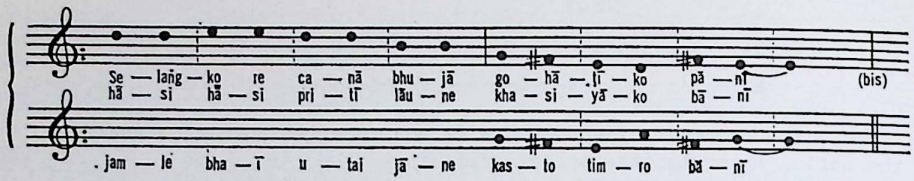
Period B: bI = 6-3-4-3 + I-2-3

b2 = 7-I-7-6

The only example of Pentatonic IV (succession $\underline{5}$-$\underline{6}$-($\underline{7}$)-I-2-3-($\underline{4}$)-5)? which we have taken corresponds to a tune used in the couplets of I2, II/3 and I3, I/I; this tune is composed of a single period repeated three times, the fourth line of the literary stanza ending on a distinct cadence formula (which we will designate as a'2) which gives:

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Couplet I2, II/3 Ex. No. I5

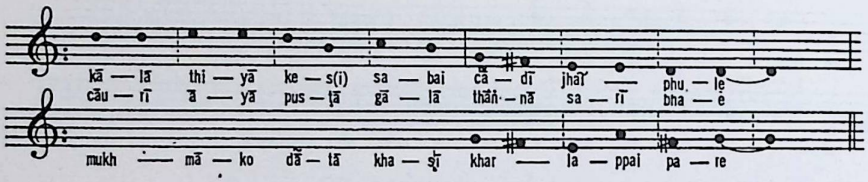


aI = 5-6-5-3

a2 = I-7-6-5-7-6

a'2= I-7-6-2-7-I

Couplet I3, I/I Ex. No. I6



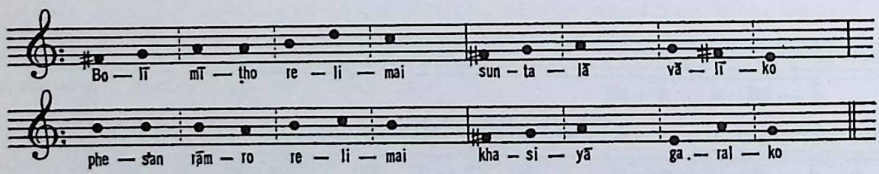
aI = 5-6-5-3-4-3

a2 = I-7-6-5

a'2= I-7-6-2-7-I

The melodic refrains of these two songs are for their part formed from two periods: the periods B conforming to the same profile, while the periods A are different. Thus the refrain of I2, II/3 should be classed as Pentatonic V.

Refrain I2, II/3 Ex. No. I7



Period A: aI = 7-I-2-3-5-4

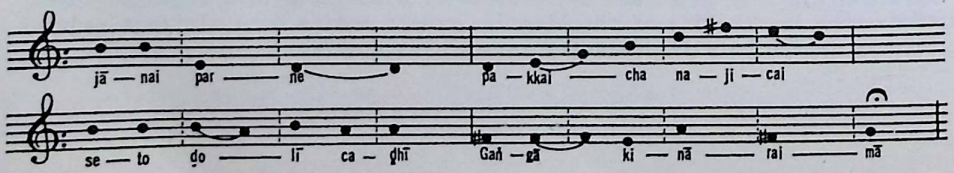
a2 = 7-I-2-I-7-6

Period B: bI = 3-2-3-4-3

b2 = 7-I-2-6-2-I

whereas the refrain of I3, I/I belongs to Pentatonic IV

Refrain I3, I/I Ex. No. I8



Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Period A: aI = 3-6-5

a2 = 5-6-I-3-5-7-6-5

Period B: bI = 3-2-3-2

b2 = 7-6-2-7-I

The Use of Pyen

If we return to the notations already given and in particular the table on page 94 we will see that the different bhakhā are not limited to the 5 notes of the Pentatonic scale, but the auxiliary notes 4 and 7 that C. Brailoiu described by the Chinese word pyen appear there too; so we thought it would be interesting to examine systematically the role played by these notes 4 and 7 in the periods forming the bhakhā, which leads us to the following remarks:

I) the notes 4 and 7 are rarely used in direct ascending melodic movement;

2) in descending melodic movement they may appear as a bridging note:

note 7 between I and 6

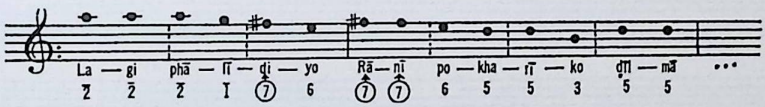
note 4 between 5 and 3 (more rarely)

3) they have an ornamental role

a) either as embellishment

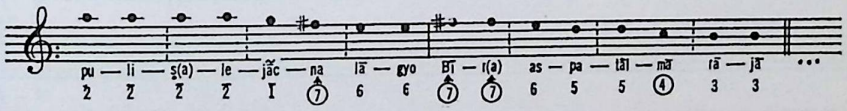
around note 6: 6-7-6:

I3, I/4 Ex. No. I9 (cf. no. I0)



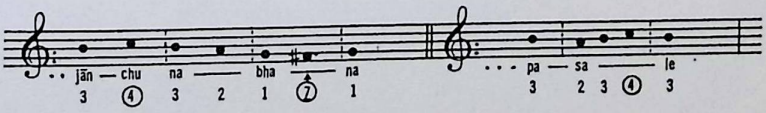
which becomes finally:

I3, I/4 Ex. No. 20 (cf. no. I0)



around note 3: 3-4-3:

I3, II/2 Ex. No. 2I (cf. no. I2) I4, I/6,a2 Ex. No. 22 (cf. no. I3)



Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

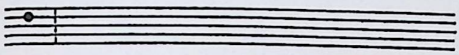
1er couplet 13, I/4 Ex. nº 10

be — lu — kā — ko das ba — je
Ja — nak lāl — lal mā —— rī 'ma — ṭa — r(a) — mā hā — li
la — gī phā — lī — di — yo Rā — nī po — kha — rī — ko ḍī
pu — li — ṣ(a) — le Lā — s'(a) — lāl
bho — li pal — ṭa bi — hā — na pu — li — ṣ(a) — le jā̃c — na lā — gyo Bī r(a) as — pa — tāl — mā rā —

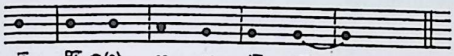
9, I/2 Ex. nº 11

Ne — pā — lī — kā prem(a) — ni ā — ja ti — mī ka — tā
du — i ha — jār e — ghāra sā — l(a) cait — (ra) mahi — nā cā — ra
du — i ha — jār e — ghār sā — l(a) cait — (ra) pan — dra ga — te sa — bā — ri hu — na lā — gyo
ḍi — llī
a — ghi pa — ni
pa — chī pa — ni
a — ghi pa — ni
pa — chi pa — ni
Nā — rā — yaṇ hi — ṭī
ma — tār — ma sa — vā — ri
Tri — bhu —

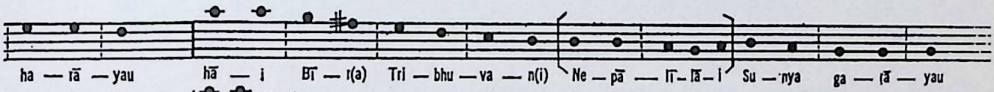
Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)



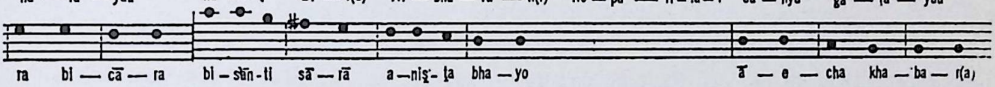
— mā



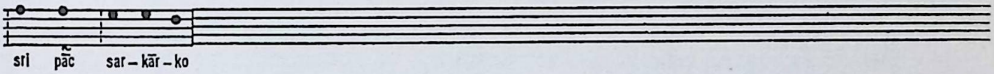
- jā Bī-r(a) as — pa — tāl — mā



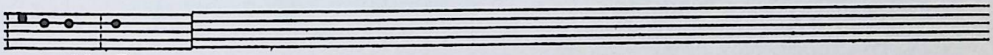
ha — rā — yau hā — i Bī — r(a) Tri — bhu — va — n(i) Ne — pā — lī — lā — i Su — nya ga — rā — yau



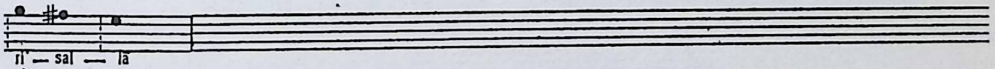
ra bi — cā — ra bi — sān - ti sā — rā a — niṣ - ṭa bha — yo ā — e — cha kha — ba — r(a)



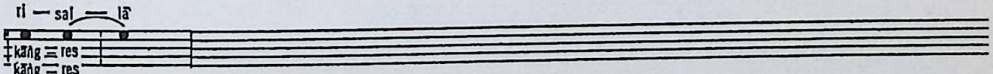
sri pāc sar — kār — ko



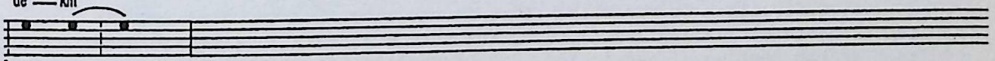
sa - ha - r(ai) — mā



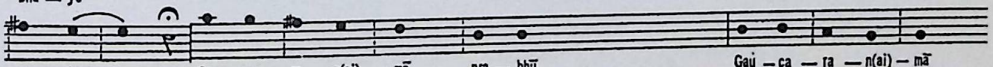
ri — sal — lā
ri — sal — lā



kāṅg — res
kāṅg — res
de — khi



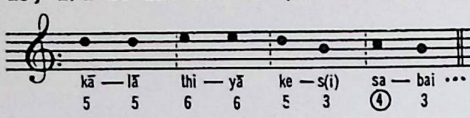
bha — yo



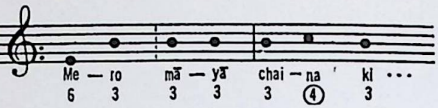
- van — ko Gau — ca — ra — n(ai) — mā pra — bhū Gau — ca — ra — n(ai) — mā

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

I3, I/I aI Ex. no. 23 (cf. no. I6)



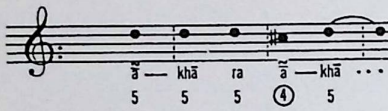
I4, I/7, bI Ex. No. 24 (cf. no. I4)



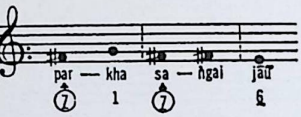
around note 5: 5-4-5:

Ex. No. 25 (cf. no. I4)

I4, I/7, b2

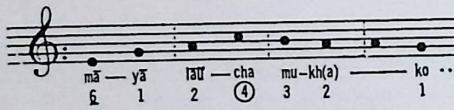


I4, I/7, aI

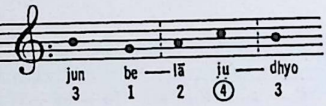


b) or in combiata
between the notes 2 and 3:

I4, I/6, bI Ex. no. 26 (cf. no. I3)

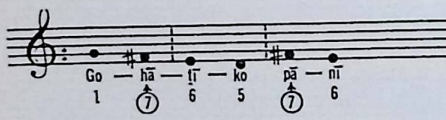


I4, I/7, a2 Ex. no. 27 (cf. no. I4)

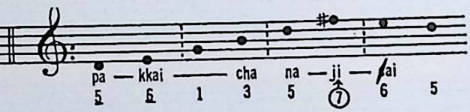


between notes 5 and 6: 5-7-6:

I2, II/3, a2 Ex. no. 28 (cf. no. I5)

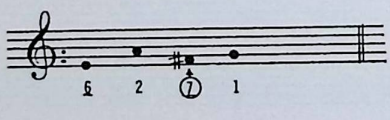


I3, I/I a2 Ex. no. 29 (cf. no. I8)



between notes I and 2:

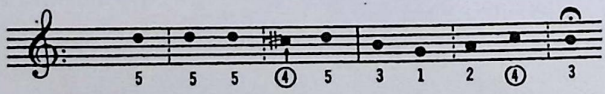
Ex. no. 30 (cf. no. I5, no. I8)



4) Their pitch is variable. Thus in the tune already cited used in the couplets of 7, II/3 and I4, I/7, the note 4 appears in a raised position in the section aI and in the natural position in section a2:

I4, I/7, aI + a2

Ex. no. 3I (cf. no. I4)



It seems then that the notes 4 and 7 are, as C. Brailoiu said, 'rarer than the constituting notes', 'play only the role of ornament', 'vary'... they can therefore rightly be considered as pyen.

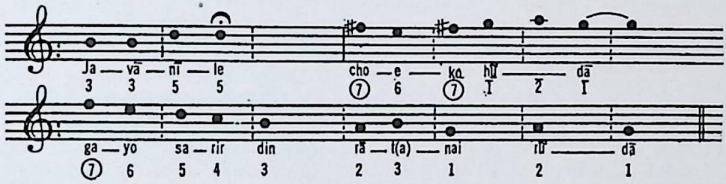
Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Exceptions:

It would nevertheless be wrong to conclude that all the songs of the gaine of the Kathmandu Valley can be classed under the Pentatonic system. It is precisely the important role played by the notes 4 and 7 in the songs which follow which has led us to see in them an illustration of the modal scales, familiar in the classical music of North India (in order to facilitate comparison we retain in the notation the equivalents: note I = soh_3).

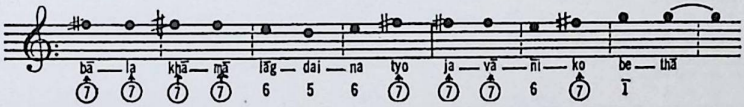
For example the song II, II/6, whose style of rendering comprises numerous modulations of voice:
the melodic refrain, corresponding to two lines of IO syllables, is like this:

Refrain II, II/6 Ex. no. 32



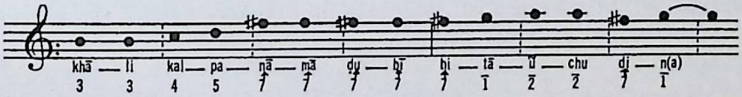
but in the couplet which follows, the note 7 occupies a dominant place which rules out the possibility of considering it as a pyen:

Ist couplet II, II/6 A Ex. no. 33



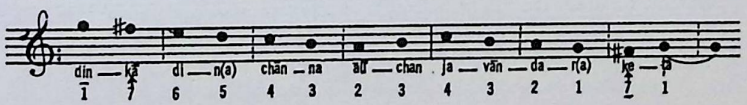
in the 2nd couplet, this period A is varied in another way, but preserves for note 7 an important function:

2nd couplet II, II/6 A Ex. no. 34



while period B is identical in all the couplets and conforms to the melodic plan of the 'B' periods we observed in the songs using Pentatonic I:

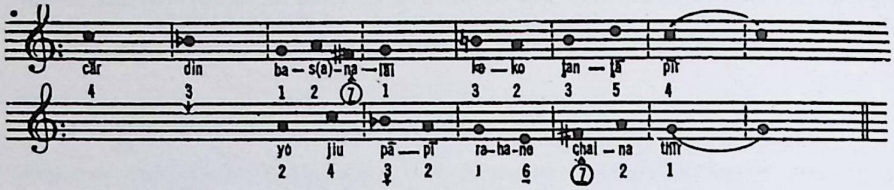
Couplet II, II/6 B Ex. no 35



Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

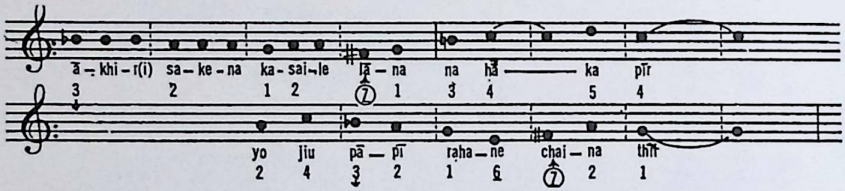
The song I3, I/I bis, whose literary tone seems very plainly Indian, has an even clearer modal structure with alternating minor and major third in relation to the tonic, according to whether the note 3 intervenes in descending or ascending movement:

Ist refrain I3, I/I bis Ex. no. 36



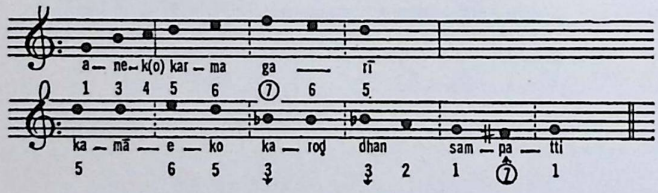
refrain which occurs also in this form:

2nd refrain I3, I/I bis Ex. no. 37



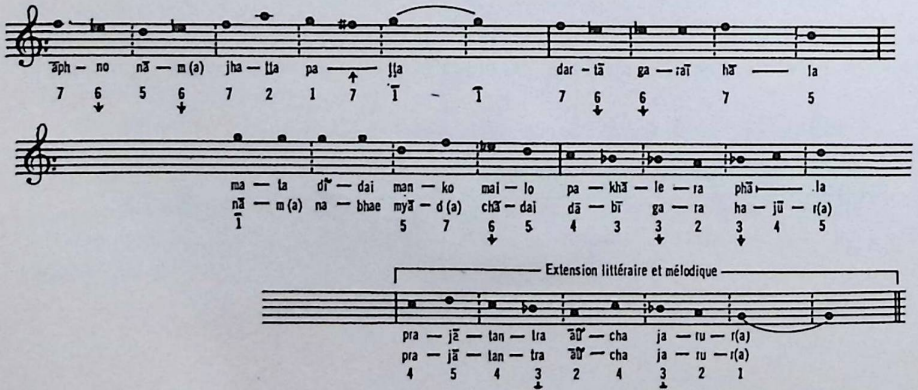
The couplet, comprising two periods, shows the alternating major third ascending, minor third descending, with mutation to the fifth between the finale of the periods:

Couplet I3, I/I bis Ex. no. 38



Finally, song I3, I/3 (transposed to the fifth in the notation) is characterised by the presence of intervals of a third, sixth, and seventh minor in relation to the tonic note I:

I3, I/3 Ex. no. 39



Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Rhythmic structure

We have been able to observe on one hand the existence of 'verse models' conforming to a regular metre, on the other hand the presence of melodic structures preexisting in one or another given song and which the Nepalese call bhākhā; the plan of these bhākhā, the melodic pattern to which they conform, which we have called ' tune', is generally given in an instrumental prelude to the song itself and repeated in whole or in part in the interludes following each statement of the refrain[20]

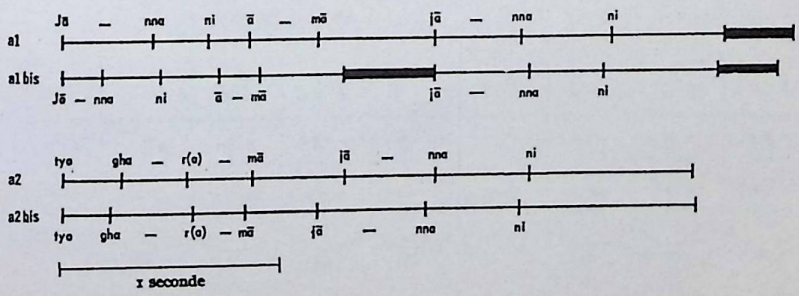
Leaving aside the preludes and instrumental interludes, we will try to show with the help of some examples how this fitting together of melodies and types of verse works, and this will enable us to pick out some rhythmic constants in the performance of the gāine.

We have seen that these songs are syllabic, that is, that one note of the tune corresponds to one syllable of the text. Moreover as Turner has remarked[21], the syllables are often punctuated 2 by 2, which leads to musical notation where the rhythm is regularly given as ♪♩ or ♩♪. The musical reality is more complex and through the analysis of the sonograph[22] we have been able to make some observations which are no longer based only on the subjective opinion of the hearer. It became clear that what remained constant throughout a given song, was the length of the periods (corresponding to a line) and the sections (corresponding to a hemistich) which formed these periods, this being quite independent of the literary content of the said periods and sections. In fact the disposal of the syllables within a given length of time could vary according to the accentuation of the words or the expressive will of the performer; and any irregularities on the part of the singer were covered up by the accompanying instrument which came in either at the end of the period or at the end of a section to complete the shortened series and thus maintained a rigorous breadth.

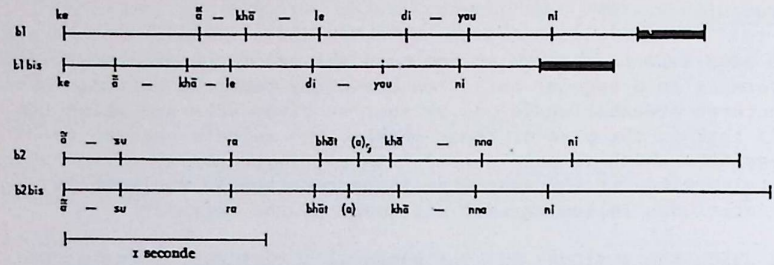
For example, song II, I/2 'Jānna ni āmā jānna ni...'. Couplets and refrain use the same tune (cf. Ex. no. 7), composed of two periods of 8 time, separated into equal sections of 4 time. The repetition of each line allows one to observe the rhythmic variability which exists within groups of two notes which are never absolutely equal. Let us try to analyse the facts provided by the sonagram of the first refrain:

Jānna ni āmā jānna ni / tyo ghar(a) mā jānna ni (bis)
ke ākhāle diyau ni / āsu ra bhāt khānna ni (bis)

Ex. no. 40 (cf. no. 7)



Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)



From Ex. no. 40 we have:

aI + a2 = 2I,4 + I8,4 = 39,8

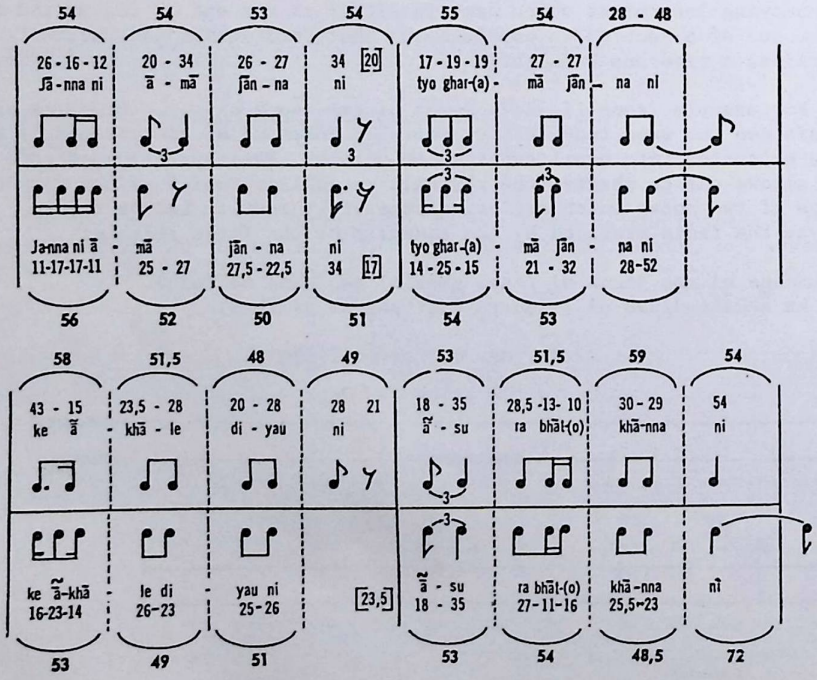
aI <u>bis</u> + a2 <u>bis</u> = 20,8 + I8,6 = 39,4

bI + b2 = 20,4 + 2I,6 = 42

b2 <u>bis</u> + b2 <u>bis</u> = I7,6 + 22,6 = 40,2

On the sonagram the distance 6,5 cm corresponds to the length of one second. We may conclude then that although there are no sections of equal length the performance of this song nevertheless shows a great stablility as far as the length of the periods is concerned. Note that the section bI <u>bis</u> being shortened, section b2 <u>bis</u> is lengthened so as to make up the correct length for the whole period. Taking into account on one hand the metrical structure of the lines and on the other hand the variations in tempo which lead the singer to lengthen or shorten a time, we are led to suggest the following traditional notation:[24].

Ex. no. 4I



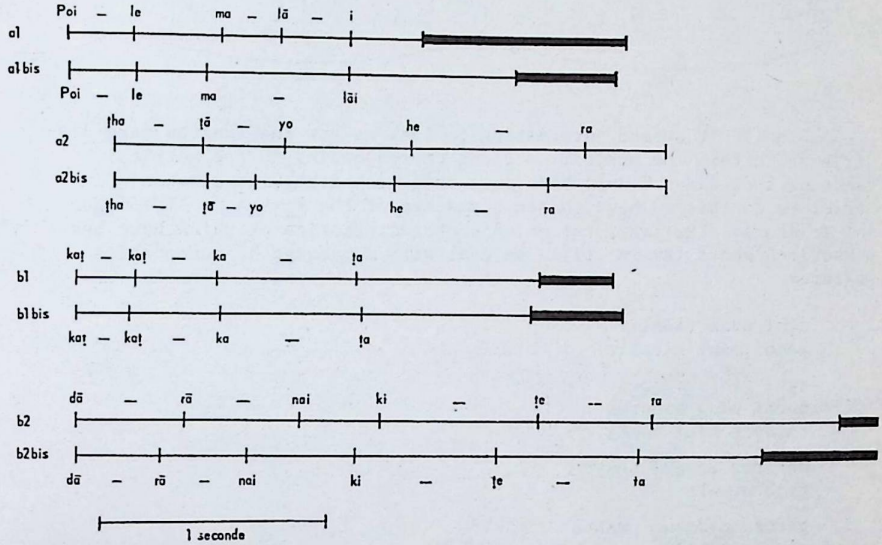
Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Let us apply the same method to the refrain of 8, I/3 which is composed of two lines of IO syllables:

poile malāi / ṭhaṭāyo hera
kaṭ kaṭ kaṭa / daranai kitera

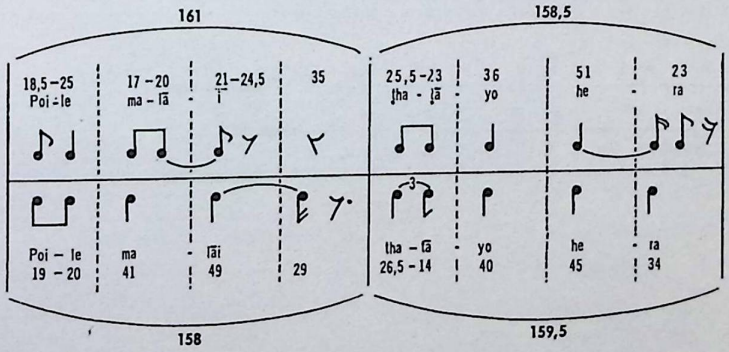
The disposal of the syllables within the melodic periods, which correspond as before to a length of 8 time (except the last section b2 prolonged by a length corresponding to 2 time) is realized in this way:

8, I/3 Ex. no. 42

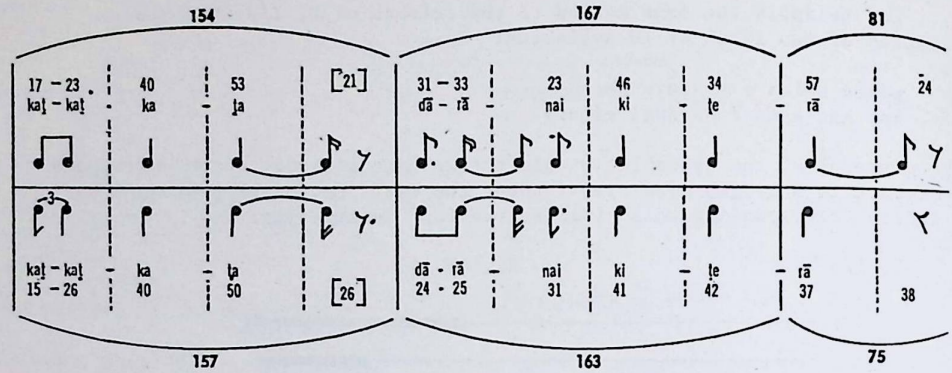


The singer is evidently not so at ease as in the previous example and he has frequent recourse to instrumental 'stop-gaps' which reestablish the 'breadth' perfectly. Note the enjambment at the beginning of b2 and the increase in the values at the end of the section, each syllable occupying one complete time or even more. In traditional notation we suggest the following interpretation:

8, I/3 Ex. no. 43



Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)



Finally it seemed interesting to look at how the lengths were distributed within the musical sections corresponding to the metrical sequences of 6 and 8 syllables in a song with irregular stanzas. In order to do this we have chosen a passage of the karkhā on 'The death of Tribhuvan' (9, I/2), the melodic characteristics of which have been described above (Ex. no.II). We deal with a passage of enumerative nature:

aghi pani risallā
pachi pani risallā

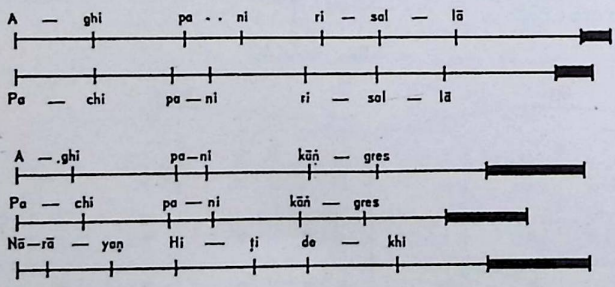
aghi pani kāṅgres
pachi pani kāṅgres
narayaṇ hiṭī dekhi

matarmā savāri bhayo
tribhuvanko

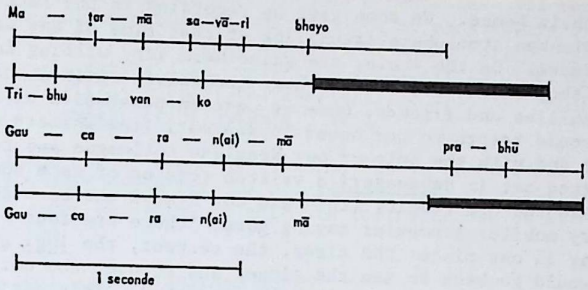
gaucaran(ai)mā prabhū
gaucaran(ai)mā

The graphic transposition from the sonagram looks like this:

9, I/2 Ex. no. 44 (cf. no. II)

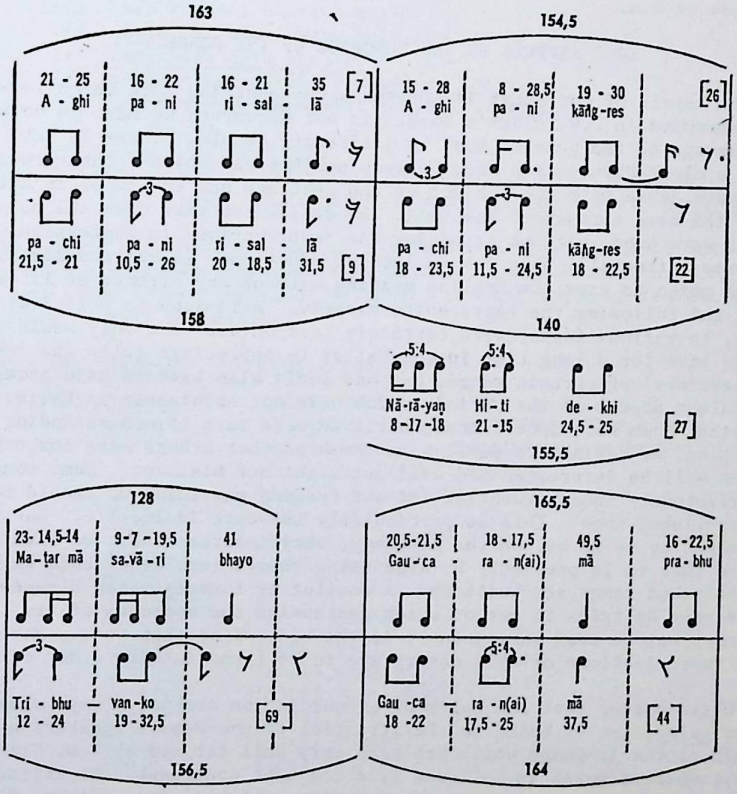


Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)



It shows clearly the search for melodic - rhythmic sections of equivalent length, even in the absence of any metrical constraint as it is a song with irregular stanzas. In classical musical notation we would suggest:

Ex. no. 45



CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE MATERIAL WAS COLLECTED

As we did not know anything about the repertory of the gāine when we began this research, we tried to obtain as wide a range of samples as possible. The recording was usually done early in the morning before the gāine left on tour. This meant it was easier to meet the singers we were

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

studying in their homes. We soon gave up recording in the late afternoon because the drunken atmosphere prevailing at that time of day was not conducive to work. On the whole, the gaine were very willing for us to record them; they liked very much to hear themselves again in company with their families and friends. Once we were in possession of some fresh material we would return to our house in Kalimati (the Western suburb of Kathmandu) and with the help of our Nepalese colleague and friend K.B. Bista, we worked out in devanagari a written version of each song. Whenever we had the opportunity (this was not always the case as the gaine are very mobile: a popular saying goes, 'there are four creatures who never stay in one place: the tiger, the serpent, the jogi and the gaine'), we would go back to see the singer and go over the notation again with him while listening to the tape together. This activity always greatly annoyed the performers; but sometimes we were able to obtain in this way more exact details, contradictions, corrections, variations. When on a short visit to France in 1965-66, K.B. Bista once more gave us help by scrutinising the texts again; in fact he played a major role in the elaboration of this article and we would like to express our sincere gratitude to him.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE SONGS

The Nepali of our songs is not the bahun-chetriko kurā which is so well expounded in T.W. Clark's book. In our documents we have to do with the language of the people, sung by illiterate people. There is not always a clear distinction made between subject and object; the verb does not always agree with the subject of the sentence and the tense is not always the same throughout one song. We decided to take down the words as they were sung, without stressing the imperfections in expression - which are, after all, only due to lack of education. In our translations we have tried to give the English meaning without any attempt at literary style, and following the texts quite closely. Allusions to political events, to various facts, were certainly lost on us. Not only would one need to live for a long time in the Valley to appreciate fully the 'why and wherefore' of certain songs, but one would also have to have access to Nepalese papers of the period, which were not obtainable in Paris. But rather than wait indefinitely until we were sure of understanding everything, we decided to publish in the hope that others more competent than us will be interested and will put right our mistakes. Some songs are frivolously inconsequential and our readers may think we should not have published them. This is particularly the case in I4, I/6. But this song seems to us to be, on the contrary, very important: for we have noticed that it is precisely by organising rhymed jumbles of this kind that more polished songs are built up. A couplet or formula which pleases the singer when he tries it out or which meets with the approval of his audience, may be used subsequently in the body of another song. Moreover vocal improvisations of this nature are to be found in many other cultures.

While noting that the rules of pronunciation are not always observed by the gaine, let us bring to the attention of non-Nepali speakers a feature of the language which has been very well defined by T.W. Clark. "Except where a vowel is followed by a conjunct consonant", he writes, "Nepali prefers an open i.e. a vowel ending syllable' (op. cit. p. 8).

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

The declamatory nature of the performances accentuates this tendency, and one will notice in our documents the presence of many vowels of 'emphasis'. We quote for example 8, I/3: ghar(a); 9, I/2: khabur(a), Svitjarlyaṇḍ(ai), hukum(a); II, I/2: ghar(a); I3, I/3: kam(a) nām(a); I3, I/2: nām(a) I4, I/6: mukh(a); I0, II/2: dar(a), tharahar(a); I3, I/I bis: akhir(i), ek(a) din(a) I3, I/I: kam(a); II/3: hukum(a), etc.

The frequent use of terms of relationship in the current language is sufficiently well known that we should not dwell on it here. On the other hand it might be useful to note the following use of formulas of calling attention:

8,	I/3	poile malāi thatayo hera...
I0,	I/3	rasvad maph garāi pāu jarnel sāheb khetiko nāmmā prabhu...
II,	I/2	jānna ni āmā jānna ni
I2,	I/6	gaūle dai gaūle bhāi...
I3,	II/I	phakai phakai lagyo malāi (bis) kamārī jhai paryo bahinī...
I3,	II/2	uḍeko caṅga sita janchu nabhana kānchī...
I4,	I/7	he pyārī...
7,	II/3	jyān khukuri bhirera gorkhālī
I2,	I/2	sāila dāi nepāl gayo kata lau garana bicara rājā
I2,	I/7	hera hera daju bhai...
I3,	I/2	svatantrako nārāle āja lyāyau hera...
I3,	I/3	nam habhae myad chadai dābī gara hajur...
9,	I/2	he prabhu...
I3,	I/4	hera hera dāju bhāi...
I0,	I/4	jānai paryo jānai paryo birānako deś hoina māitī rājai...
		janai paryo janai paryo birānako deś ḍoli thapa janti ho...

We should also note the use of a relatively high number of borrowed words. These borrowed words describe mainly foreign countries, administrative functions, modern apparatus or tools: the influence of the military vocabulary is felt above all.

I0,	I/3	jarnel	(engl. general)
7,	II/3	jarman	(engl. German)
		aitan	(? ajitan - engl. adjutant. The singer was stammering. Possibly a distortion of the engl. 'Right turn').
		abisar	(engl. officer)
		rāiphal	(engl. rifle)
		sipāī	(hindi sipāhi)
		jāpān	(engl. Japanese)
		misingan	(engl. machine-gun)
		aṅgrej	(hindi angrez)
I2,	I/2	ṭyāksi	(engl. tax)
		Kāṅgres	(engl. Congress)
		dhotivāl	(hindi dhotivāla)
		kiṅg	(engl. king)
		bajeṭ	(engl. budget)
		Koriya	(engl. Korea)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

I2, I/7	sāikal	(engl. cycle)
	sinemā	(engl. cinema)
	hal	(engl. hall)
	buskaṭ	(engl. bushcoat)
	iskul	(engl. school)
	kamīj	(hindi qamis)
	pāudar	(engl. powder)
I3, I/2	lāin	(engl. line)
	pulis	(engl. police)
	tikat	(engl. ticket)
	bākas	(engl. box)
I3, I/3	lamber nambar	(engl. number)
9, I/2	Kāṅgres	(engl. Congress)
	maṭār	(engl. motor>motor car)
	apareśan	(engl. operation)
	svitjarlyānd	(engl. Switzerland)
	ṭaīm	(engl. time)
	ḍākṭar	(engl. doctor)
	minet	(engl. minute)
	sāikal	(engl. cycle bicycle)
	pulis	(engl. police)
	tyām palā	(engl. time-table)
	daibar	(engl. driver>pilot)
8, II/9	gajet	(engl. gazette)
I3, I/4	maṭar	(engl. motor)
	pulis	(engl. police)
	aspatāl	(engl. hospital)
	ḍākṭar	(engl. doctor)
	ṭāim	(engl. time)
	kānun	(hindi qanun, law)
I2, II/3	rel ?	(engl. rail railway>train)
	phesan	(engl. fashion)
	selaṅ	(engl. Shillong)
	Baṭa Kampani	(engl. Bata Company)
	garal	(engl. girl)
I4, I/6	jin	(engl. jean blue>jeans)
	tin	(engl. tin)

Onomatopoeia

In Nepali onomatopoeia is included in the word category anukaran. T.W. Clark (op. cit. p. 210) distinguishes between two classes of anukaran words: "a) Those which have a geminated, i.e. a double consonant b) Those which have reduplicated syllables". We should remember in this connection that words of this type figure in the literature of many other cultures, for instance Tibet (R.A. Stein, L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaique de Ling, Paris, 1956, p. 395-399; La civilisation tibétaine, Paris, 1962, p. 216-217, 223; A.W. Macdonald, Matériaux pour

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

l'étude de la littérature populaire tibétaine, Paris, 1967, I, p. 123, n. 3), Bengal (D.D. Sen, History of Bengali language and literature, Calcutta, 1954, p. 562-564) and South Mongolia (A. Mostaert, Dictionnaire Ordos, Peking, 1944, 3, p. 874-875, 'Monumenta Serica', Monograph V). As Claude Lévi-Strauss puts it, 'Onomatopoeic terms always disguise an ambiguity, since, based on a resemblance, they do not indicate clearly whether the person speaking intends in saying them to reproduce a sound or to express a meaning. By duplication, the second emphasizes the intention of expressing a meaning, which if it had not been duplicated one might have doubted was present in the first' (Le cru et le cuit, Paris, 1964, p. 345-346).

We give here a list of anukaran words which appear in our songs:

8,	I/3	kaṭ kaṭ kaṭa	(noise of grinding teeth)
		hāvā dāvā	(noise of'hustle')
10,	II/2	halalala	(noise of laughter)
		dhapa dhapa	(noise of fire)
		pilpile	(noise of stifled sobs)
		kele kele	(noise of a beating heart)
		kharāṅkhurun	(noise of nails against a bamboo container)
11,	I/2	halhalala	(noise of laughter)
11,	II/6	ṭyāũ ṭyāũ	(cry of the lark)
		halalala	(noise of laughter)
14,	I/7	guḍu guḍu	(cooing of the pigeon)
9,	I/2	dhuru dhuru	(noise of sobs)
10,	I/4	hur hur	(noise of movement)
		dhuru dhuru	(noise of sobs)
14,	I/6	chama chama	(noise of the jangling of rings)

The thego

In Turner's dictionary (p. 299) we find the following definition of the word thego: 'a particular way of speaking in which the meaning of words is rendered unintelligible to anyone overhearing by the insertion of meaningless words and syllables'. B.C. Śarma for his part says, (op. cit. p. 462): kunai kunai manisle kura garda bic bicma dohoryaine nirarthak śabda 'words without meaning inserted repeatedly into someone's speech'. In our material relimai (12,II/3) is the most striking example of an expression without meaning. Nevertheless it is possible that other words (for example Gangaram and Sitaram in 14, I/7) are used in a similar way. In the course of our researches on other songs of the gaine, it seemed to us that the following words may also have been used in the same way: nanilo, nirmaya, nainareśam, lalumai, sunimaya, etc. Satya Mohan Joshī (Hāmro lok saṃskṛti, p. 166) gives another song in which relimai occurs and Allen Percival, in the article which we have already quoted, remarked: "the word relimai occurs with great frequency in the chorus and is difficult to translate" (p. 120). If the expression relimai nowadays has no precise meaning for the Nepāli citizen, Dharma Rāj Thāpā (op. cit.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

p. 149-150) believes it comes from relmā 'in the train' (nep. rel<engl. rail<railway train). By (constant) use (he compares the transformation of the word with that of a rock into sand) relmā is supposed to have become relimai. However that may be, it would be interesting to find out to what extent these thego are formed from words of non-Nepalese origin. The use of meaningless words is attested, of course, in songs from other cultures. So A. Lomax in a recent article ('Phonotactique du chant populaire', L'Homme, 1964, IV, (1), Jan. - Apr., p. 10) gives an account of 'vocal segregates, or syllables stripped of any meaning, which constitute the choruses of cradle songs or working songs'; he calls them 'chorus words'. Nearer Nepal we have the comparison with the chig-lhad of Tibetan songs. Professor Tucci writes on this subject, 'These meaningless portions of the song have a special name (...) they are technically called chig-lhad that is to say "words inserted". Except for a few songs, only composed of chig-lhad, these rhythmic words either precede or follow the poems. They introduce, in a certain way, the tune or prolong as a fading echo the melody of the song: as a rule they are used in part songs, as in a chorus' (Tibetan folk songs from Gyantse and Western Tibet, Ascona, 1966, p. 15).

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MATERIAL AS GUIDE TO THE GĀINES' BACKGROUND

We have given above a first choice of our material. It represents the texts of the songs we established first and of which we felt relatively sure. Other texts will be published later, and we were not guided by any cultural principle in our choice of the documents you have just read. Can this sample teach us anything about the background of the gaine? There are so many cultural influences from so many sources in the Valley today that it would be imprudent to give a categorical answer. Dharma Rāj Thapa favours the indigenous tradition according to which the gaine arrived in the Valley from the West with the armies of Prithivi Narayan in 1768. But what do we know for certain about the gaine before this date? Mr. Dharma Rāj Thapa suggests a connection with the Bhāṭ of the extreme West of Nepal, and says (op. cit., p. 139) that in the districts of Ḍaṇḍeldhura and Doṭi, the Bhāṭ, holding a bhālā in their hand, describe former events in poems. Up till now the Bhāṭ have been known ethnographically outside the actual political boundaries of Nepal. One can read about them in R.V. Russell and Rai Bahadur Hira Lāl, The tribes and castes of the Central Provinces of India, London, 1916, II, p. 251-270 [25]. Writing towards the end of the nineteenth century, Sir R.C. Temple rightly pointed out that in the Punjab one was dealing with several types of bards and he added, 'All along our frontiers, wherever the Balochki and the Pushto languages are spoken, the bard has a natural home, and in Sindh he has become a proverb. In Kacch and Kathiawar and in Rajasthan he is to be found at the court of each of the innumerable "kings" that hold sway over those vast tracts of country, and again further East we find him flourishing in full vigour in Orissa, and once more we find him cherished and carefully tended along the whole line of the Hill States from Kashmir to Kumaun. The condition of his existence in the Punjab proper are practically those under which he flourishes throughout the North West Provinces and Awadh' (The legends of the Panjab, London, I, p. XXVI). In view of the actual-state of our knowledge of West Nepal, it would seem prudent not to put forward precise hypotheses concerning the

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

protohistory of the gāine. As far as their repertory is concerned one should always bear in mind the possibility that it was brought by priests who were guardians of the sacred legends of Hinduism (jogi), by the devotees of this or that Hindu or Moslem saint who sing the history of their patron saint (bharain), by professional musicians (e.g. the mirasi or the dhadhi). It is possible there never was a moment when the gāine sang only the brave deeds and the genealogy of one prince, for one can be sure that the gāine have always travelled widely. We plan to return later, in the light of other documents, to the problem of the presence of the gāine in the twenty-two and the twenty-four kingdoms.

NOTES

I. It is worth noting that although in the spoken language the first syllable of a Nepāli word is generally stressed, the position of the stressed syllable may vary according to the expressive wish of the speaker. Moreover if the first syllable includes a short vowel followed in the second syllable by a long vowel, the stress falls on the second syllable. For the sake of non-Nepāli speakers we will comment that the transliterated sounds au, ai, are not pronounced as diphthongs but as two vowels enunciated separately. Let us also stress two remarks made by T.W. CLARK: I) "There are a number of ways of expressing emphasis in Nepāli speech. One of the commonest is to lengthen a syllable, by prolonging the vowel of an open syllable or the consonant at the end of a closed syllable" (op. cit., p.30); and 2) "The Nepalese in their ordinary speech make use of a wide range of notes' (ibid., p. 32).

2. Cf. JAKOBSON, op. cit., p. 23I.

3. P. I84, 226-227. According to information given by Dr. Harka B. Gurung it would seem that in fact the term sailadai does not apply to a verse form but to one of the many well-known airs (nep. bhākhā) on which the Nepālese improvise.

4. Op. cit., p. I48.

5. D.C. SEN, Eastern Bengali ballads, Calcutta University, I926, II, p. 2I6; Alokeranjan DASGUPTA, The lyric in Indian poetry, Calcutta, I962, p. 49-II6; J.D. ANDERSON, "Accent and prosody in Bengali", in JRAS Bengal, I9I3, p. 857-865: 'The heroic metre, the metre of epic and tragedy in Bengali is what is called the payār chanda'.

6. Cf. FORBES, op. cit., p. I49-I50, although the graphic arrangement adopted by the author for the texts of the songs does not show up the true metrical structure.

7. TURNER, op. cit., p. 4I0: 'First line of a verse'. Cf. MONEY (op. cit., p. I84) quoted by PERCIVAL, op. cit., p. II8. However, according to oral information given by Dr. Harka B. Gurung, the word is phed (cf. TURNER, op.cit., p I40: 'Bottom, lower part, root, foot, foundation; beginning'). Dr. Harka B. Gurung believes it refers to 'the low beginning of a song line, not necessarily the first'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

8. MONEY (op. cit., p. I84) writes ṭuppa. TURNER (op. cit., p. 246) gives ṭuppo: 'Top (e.g. of a mountain or tree), summit; point, tip). Cf. ŚARMA, op. cit., p. 423, ṭuppo: kunai vastuko māthillo bhāg "the the highest point of a thing". According to Dr. Harka B. Gurung tuppa means 'the ascending or high pitch of a song'.

9. Nep. ṭukkā: cf. TURNER, op. cit., p. 245: 'Saying, story; rhyme'.

I0. We follow Milman Parry, quoted by A.B. LORD (The singer of tales Cambridge, Mass., I960, p. 4) in taking formula to mean: "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea".

II. We subscribe to LORD's definition, ibid., p. 4: "By formulaic expression I denote a line or half line constructed on the pattern of the formulas".

I2. Objets et Mondes, I966, VI, (2), Summer, p. I33-I42.

I3. Le vers roumain chanté, Ed. de l'Institut universitaire roumain Charles Ier, Paris, I956, p. 98.

I4. TURNER, op. cit., p.473: bhākā/bhākhā/bhāṣā: "Promise; -tune (in singing), tone (in reading)".

I5. MONEY, op. cit., p. I84.

I6. We use the word tune (Fr. timbre) in the sense given it by E. LITTRÉ, Dictionnaire de la langue française, Paris, I883, IV, p. 2225, II6°: 'First line of a well known vaudeville, which is written above a parodied vaudeville to indicate to which air it should be sung'.

I7. Period: a musical phrase corresponding to the length of a line of verse.

I8. "Sur une melodie russe", in Musique russe, Paris, Puf, I953, II, p. 329-39I.

I9. Ibid., p. 345.

20. A similar finding had already been made by C. Brailoiu at the Musée de l'Homme in the course of a seminar on 2nd May I957, about a Bulgarian recording ('Collection universelle de Musique populaire enregistree, UNESCO, 23/I: "The instrument gives the almost pure form of the stanza". In a very different context, in an exposé at the same Musée by our Africanist colleague G. Rouget, on the I2 th December, I963, and touching on "Sounds of language and sounds of the drum", Pierre Boulez pointed out the fact that one can see in the instrument "a simplification, a stylisation" in the pitch as well as in the rhythm.

2I. "Specimens of Nepali", art. cit.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

22. Sonagrams were made in the department of ethnomusicology at the Musée des Arts et Traditions populaires de Paris, thanks to Miss C. Marcel-Dubois, Head of Department and Director of Research at the CNRS.

23. The blacked-in sections correspond either to a silence or a melodic unit played on the sarāṅgi.

24. The figures above or below the syllables indicate the length in millimetres on the sonagram, the second line of figures giving the sum of the values of what we are considering as a time.

25. As one can see in the table reproduced in A.W. MACDONALD, "La hiérarchie des Jāt inférieurs dans le Mulukī Ain de 1955", n. 28, in: Échanges et Communications. Melanges offerts à Claude Lévi-Strauss pour son soixantième anniversaire, the Bhāt are in Nepāl and where matrimonial conflicts are concerned, a jāt equal in rank with the Chetri. Cf. also n.10 in the same article concerning the Bādī, the Bhāṭ, and the bādi. The Sanskrit word bandin, brought to Nepal, has perhaps changed in meaning. Monier-Williams (op. cit., p. 720, q.v.) gives: 'a praiser, bard, herald (who sings the praises of a prince in his presence or accompanies an army to chant martial songs; these bards are regarded as the descendants of a Kshatriya by a Sudra female)'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Two Festivals among the Tharu

1. Holi

Sylvain Lévi wrote, with reference to Kathmandu: "Holi (the full moon of Phagun)[1] is the real spring festival; Brahmins, through some inventive whim, have connected it up with the cult of Krishna; but people on the whole are satisfied with just celebrating the carnival. Everyone pretends to be happy to bury the dying year, the symbolical corpse of which hangs at the palace gate. In the evening, multi-colored rags that represent bygone days are cast down into a huge bonfire. Even confetti is not absent from the festival. Everyone provides himself with a sack of red powder and it is a case of who can best bombard the passers by -- whether by fistfuls or by means of a tube"[2]. Elsewhere he noted: "This also (isn't there everything in everything?) is the washermens' festival, let us say the festival of the dhobis. However precious they may be, the red-stained clothes which resist washing belong by right to the dhobi. So, in these narrow, seething streets, there is a curious out-growth of red-hued crowds, the powder sticking to their hair and their beards as well as to their clothes"[3]. On March 4, 1898, the day of the Holi festival, Lévi saw a Kathmandu brick-maker disguise himself as a Thārunī[4].

It is true that today "the enigmatic Thārus of Nepal"--the expression is from Lévi -- are better known. This is largely because of the work of a Nepalese anthropologist who has devoted a chapter of a recent book to them[5]. However, if the way the Holi festival is celebrated in India has been analysed and described extensively[6], we still lack information about the form it takes in the Nepalese Tarai[7]. That is why I think it useful to provide a short description of Holi as I saw it in a Thāru village in south-east Dāṅg on March 27, 1968[8].

Dāṅg is a valley situated in the inner Tarai in the West of Nepal. About 45 miles in length and, in its centre, about 18 miles wide, the valley lies between the Curia Range of the Siwaliks to the South and the first slopes of the Mahabharat Lekh to the North. Its general orientation is West by North-West and East by South-East. It is nowhere more than 600 metres above sea-level. The Preliminary Report of the National Population Census (Provisional Figures) 1961, gives for Dāṅg a population of 56,019[9]. At least 60% of this population is Thāru-speaking[10]. This region, along with Deukhuri to the south-east, is one of the most important rice granaries in Nepal. The valley, in its Southern part, is traversed from east to west by a river called the Babai Ladyā (the Babai Kholā of the map GSGS 4795, West Sheet, First Edition). This river is fed by streams which come down from the hills to the North. Practically no water comes down from the foothills to the South. Agriculture on the South bank of the river (in Thāru called ladyā pār) is wholly dependent therefore on the monsoon rains. As a consequence of the work done by the Nepal Malaria Eradication Organization, the valley has by now been virtually freed from the scourge of malaria. This has had important consequences on the

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

population pattern in the area. Previously only the Thāru and a few big Brahmin families originating from Jumla (the Lamechane, the Acarya, the Majbu Gaiya and the Rajauria), who colonised the Western part of Dāṅg from Palebang in the North, dared to live in these areas throughout the year. However, these days (in 1967) wood is becoming scarce in Dāṅg, and many Thāru, after two years of merciless want (bad rainy season), perturbed in their ways by the setting-up of Panchayat Democracy, by the starting-up of the Land Reform Program, and by increased Government intervention in their traditional way of life, are leaving Dāṅg for the more fertile, better-wooded regions to the West, where they still have the right to clear new ground. At the same time, Matwali Chetris are arriving from the hills in the North and settling in the valley, where they are no longer frightened of malaria.

Dāṅg valley is dotted with villages which traditionally are oriented North-South (as are all the buildings lived in by Thārus) and which are separated from each other by a fifteen to twenty minutes' walk. Often these villages only have 150 to 250 inhabitants. The proportion of Hindu castes and Thārus naturally varies. I worked mainly in two villages in the South-East: Katuki and Sewar. At one point during my stay, Katuki village had 225 inhabitants, all Thāru. East-Sewar, on the other hand had, at the same time a population of 109, of whom 55 were Thārus, the others being Brahmins and Chetris. Villages are surrounded by bamboo thickets, bel, mango, banana, plantain, and guava trees. Wheat, mustard, sugar-cane, maize, and lentils grow well in this climate. Life seems good in Dāṅg, especially when one arrives there from the mountains to the North. It is easy to understand how attractive this fertile, pleasant land appears to those who live in the rugged country further north.

I shall take up again elsewhere the problem of the social organisation of Thāru communities. Let us just note briefly here that marriage takes place by purchase or by exchange of sisters. The Tharu who previously, I was told, burned their dead, now bury them because of lack of firewood. The two most important personalities in the village are the mahatuā̃, the village headman, and the gurvā, sorcerer-priest. To the North and south of each village, sometimes only at one extremity, is to be found the Bhayā̃r thān[12], the place where sacrifices are made to spirits which are invoked in the corporate village rituals and where the pujārī is the mahatuā̃. Domestic rituals are the concern of the head of the household and the gurvā. The place of village-worship is usually marked by the presence of two big planks of wood hewn from one tree, and roughly carved to represent a man and a woman. They are stuck vertically into the ground on the side of the path leading to the village. These planks are usually made by potters, Kumhāle from Parsyani (in the North of central Dāṅg), at the request of the Thāru. One finds on them representations of men and women dancing, cocks, elephants, fish, trees, etc. The pair are generally called Cabahwā-Daharcandī[13]. Advanced thinkers -- they are few -- suggest that the couple should be identified with Śiva and Pārvatī. It is generally considered that Cabahwā watches over the harvests and that Daharcandī protects the inhabitants and the cattle of the village. The Bhayā̃r thān also includes plough-slades, which used to be buried alongside the couple and which used to receive worship. This practice too is disappearing because of the scarcity of wood. In front of or on one side of the couple, big round wooden nails with large heads

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

are also buried, only the head and a few centimetres of the shaft being visible above ground level. These big nails represent the Five Pāṇḍavas, known locally by the names of Arjun, Bhim, Yudhisthir, Sahdeo, and Nakra (Nakula). In front of the two carved figures are to be found little iron hooks stuck into the earth which imitate the walking-sticks previously carried by the caudhari (those responsible during the Rāna regime for groups of five, seven or ten villages).. These stop evil-spirits from hurting the couple, as well as helping the couple to walk. Let us add, to terminate this brief summary, that to the North-east, South-east, South-west and North-west of each village, a few dozen metres beyond the the last houses, are to be found square-sectioned wooden stakes called cārkhut[15]. These four stakes are felt to keep welfare within the village at the same time as they fix the cardinal points. Reduced models of these stakes are planted round the threshing area, khalyan[16] when the harvest is taken there for winnowing. Certain Brahmins identified these khut with Surya (North-east), Devī Bhavānī (South-east), Hanuman (South-west) and Kablesor, the master of Kailas (North-west).

Brahmins, Chetris and the lower castes (Sārkī, Damāi, Bādī, etc.) take no part in the Tharu rites at Holi. Exceptionally, some of their young children may be present at them as spectators. In 1967 the moon was full, purnimā, on March 25, but the rites were delayed because of rain-showers which lasted nearly 48 hours. All the villages did not celebrate Holi on the same day. For instance, at Dunnrā (a village fifteen minutes walk to the North-east of Katuki), the rites took place on the 26th. Even if the calendar is vaguely consulted -- the patro, however, are few -- Thārus will only start their rites after the mahatuā and the majority of the male population agree that they should be undertaken.

On the eve of purnimā, after the evening meal, domestic fires were put out in all the Thāru houses in the village. The next day, around 5 A.M., a group of seven young boys went to the south of the Babai Ladya into the wooded foothills (dakkin ban) in order to bring back branches and leaves of dhairo [17] with beautiful red flowers. They also cut down a three- or four-year old simal tree[18] in the garden of a Jaisi Bahun house-owner. They carried off the tree trunk and the branches and, followed by a group of five or six other youngsters carrying bamboo tubes full of various-coloured liquids, they went round the outside of the village, starting from the south, in an anti-clockwise direction. This group of youngsters was made up of volunteers who could be from any family. Generally there is not more than one from the same house. They all wore little cow bells, fixed to their backs by a string or a belt, which bounced above their rumps. Headed by one of their group who was carrying a drum (mādal) they walked very fast and occasionally sang couplets (which my Brahmin friend, D.P. Rajaure called "vulgar") in the style:

"Red is a pretty colour.
A girl asked me to sleep with her".

During the second time round, two men lit a fire, a hundred metres to the south and outside of the village, with a wooden stick and a bit

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

of gaivari[19]. First, a little cow-dung was lit. A little roofless hut, which some men had started to set up at dawn, was finished around 8 A.M. in order to shelter the cooking activities which were destined to last throughout the day. A few men left early to go fishing so as to have fish to eat in the evening. Towards 8:30 A.M. two women, the wives respectively of the mahatuã and of his younger brother, brought there two Tharu-style hearths (culā) of horse-shoe shape, cooking pots and two big jars -- one containing rice-flour, the other rice-flour mixed with water.

After the third time round the village, the drum-player, son of the mahatuã's elder brother, made a hole in a flat paddy-field, 50 metres south of the Bhayãr than with the help of a straight hoe. The simal tree-trunk was planted therein, and round about it, seven little holes were made in which the same boys stuck their leafy red branches, starting with the hole to the north-east of the tree-trunk. The branches were made to lean towards the tree trunk. Then all seven ran off into a nearby field and brought back from 20 metres distance, manure, straw, and clods of earth with which they bombarded the branches from all sides. Next they went in a laughing group to the Bhayãr than where they stopped a moment before each one went off home. Throughout this time, the mahatuã remained in his house. Since the previous evening, he had had to fast. Very few men only five or six -- were present at this first part of the rites, but the village children showed some interest in what was going on. There were no women present except the two cooks.

During the day-time, everything went on as usual. Men and women, without eating, went about their work. But at about 4 P.M., one Tharu from each house in the village went to drink rice-beer and eat fish (the morning-catch) in the mahatuã's house. Around 5:30 P.M. two men came out of this house and, to the south of the simal, made a thick rope out of dried grass. Shortly afterwards others arrived at the Bhayãr than, carrying cow's milk, two pots of alcohol, and sewn-leaf cups. Others came back up from the "kitchen", bringing alcohol, breads (roti), and fire (smouldering cow dung). The mahatuã who in the meantime had gone to take a bath, arrived at about 5:45 P.M. at the Bhayãr than. He smoothed and cleaned the offering place in front of the two wooden figures, then once more washed his hands. He put nine little lamps in an east-west line to the south of the patch, then nine others likewise to the north of it. In the centre, towards the east, he placed a bigger lamp. All these lamps were made of wicks soaked in oil inside leaf-cups. He then turned three times in an anti-clockwise direction around the two "statues", linking them together at different heights by a cotton thread. He then put tika of aceta[20] here and there on the two figurines with his right thumb. Next he deposited in front of the two divinities three cups into which he poured alcohol and presented the contents to them as an offering to the ancestors. Then the roti began to be taken out of the big baskets in which they had been brought from the kitchen. They were divided up and placed in the plates which were lined up to the north of the figurines. To protect the lamps from quite a strong wind which was blowing, four or five Tharus settled down to the south of the than and linked their clothes together to form a screen. The puja was carried out by the mahatuã alone.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

This pūjā over, smouldering cow dung and a small lamp were brought forward by an assistant. All the men together with the mahatuã -- thirty or so in all -- went down towards the simal tree. The mahatuã walked again round it three times in an anti-clockwise direction, binding it with cotton thread (oojer sud) at waist-height. A roti jhãjwā[21] was placed by the mahatuã on a stalk of the simal. The thick rope which was lit with the smouldering cow-dung and with the additional help of the lamp because of the wind, was then dragged, smoking, three times around the tree, always in the same direction, by the mahatuã. Then he set fire to the rope, and the whole went up in flames. All the men present lit their pieces of cow dung skewered by long wooden staves from the bonfire. They went back up to the Bhayãr thān where the mahatuã distributed to all who were present the roti which were there, one leaf-cup for each house. The children were entitled to a whole basketful of roti which another Tharu divided up for them. Everyone then returned rapidly to his house and relit the fire in the house. Throughout the whole ceremony, the women remained in their homes in the village, with the exception of a few young girls who watched the proceedings from a distance. It was very chilly. The sun went down fast and everything was finished in a hurry. In the evening each family paid its devotions to the household's divinities.

I shall study Thāru religious ceremonies in greater detail elsewhere. But two remarks can be made straightaway. Holi rituals are not linked, at least at Katuki, to the worship of Krishna;[22] and the Holi festival seems to be disappearing, closely associated as it is with the institution and activity of the village headman. The majority of the men who took part in it were more or less drunk. People expressed their astonishment at my interest in the Holi; but curiosity about the cad produced much less comment. One should note that the gurva plays no role whatever in these Holi rituals; and even if young children do play at throwing red and purple liquids at their elders and their companions, this is not done very often. Could this be because the Thāru, who wash their own clothes, do not have Dhobi washermen?

Only Brahmins told me the story of the demon, Hiranyakaśipu, one of whose sons, Prahlad[24] did not follow his father's traditions, but worshipped Rām and taught everyone to do good, not to lie and to worship Bhagavān, who is to be found everywhere "in a wood-fire, a wooden post, in you as in us". The father sought to put an end to the days of this rebellious son. He tried to get him crushed by an elephant, to make him fall from a cliff-height, but all in vain. It was believed that the sister of Hiranyakaśipu, who was called Holikā, could not be burned by fire. In order to kill Prahlad, Hiranyakaśipu persuaded her to take him in her arms and to sit in the fire. But it was Holikā who was burned and Prahlad who, protected by the gods, came out alive and well. Since then, in memory of the death of Holikā, a pyre is made (cir polne) each year at this date. In times past, when the Brahmins lived in the mountains and foothills, even small groups used regularly to have these pyres. But now-a-days, since they have lived in Dāng where wood is scarce, they no longer do this. Moreover when times are hard, they do not like to waste cow-dung.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

NOTES

1. B.C. Śarma, Nepāli Śabda Koś, p. 1144 states precisely that Holi lasts from the eighth day of the clear fortnight of Phālgun up till the day of the full moon. Cf. recently, in Nepali, Pusyaratna Vajracarya, Hāmro cāḍparva, Kathmandu, 2020 v.s., p.149 - 154.

2. S. Lévi, Le Népal, étude historique d'un royaume hindou, Vol. II., Annales du Musée Guimet, t. 18, Paris, 1905, p. 59. H.A. Oldfield, Sketches from Nipal, Vol. II, London, 1880, p. 341, wrote: "During the eight days the Huli lasts, a kind of wooden tree, with cloth lamps and coloured streamers suspended from its branches, is constructed close to the Darbar, over which as well as on to each others' dresses, the spectators fling golal or red powder. This tree, during the continuance of the festival, stands before the Darbar; on the last night of the Huli, it is removed to the Thandi Khel parade-ground and there burnt". D. Wright adds that this represents "the burning of the body of the old year, and its rebirth with each succeeding spring" (History of Nepal, Calcutta, 1958, p. 25). G.S. Nepali states that the festival is now-a-days celebrated by non-Newar as well as by the Newar of the Valley. He adds: "Although Holi is a popular festival, the burning of chir is comparatively rare. Only one chir is erected near the Pashupati ghāt". For this author the festival appears to be "a cultural trait introduced from outside" (The Newars, Bombay, 1965, p. 387 - 388). In Turner's Nepāli Dictionary, p. 177, one finds under cir: "the wooden post planted in the ground at Holi then burnt". Śarma, op. cit., p. 320, gives under cir: "a banner in the form of a parasol, chatrākar dhvaj which is erected at the beginning of phagu, the eighth day of the clear fortnight of phālgun". See the interesting remarks concerning the word dhvaja by J. Gonda in Aspects of Early Visnuism, Utrecht, 1954, p. 255 - 259. Among the Gurung, B. Pignède noted: "Children throw red powder in people's faces, but work in the fields is not interrupted" (Les Gurungs, une population himalayenne du Népal, Paris, La Haye, 1966, p. 306).

3. S. Lévi, op. cit., p. 402.

4. Ibid., 403.

5. D.B. Bista, People of Nepal, Department of Publicity, Ministery of Information and Broadcasting, HMG of Nepal, Calcutta, 1967, p. 108 - 116. Among recent publications of general interest concerning the Tharu, one may quote S.K. Srivastava, The Tharus, a Study in Culture Dynamics, Agra, 1958; and R.C. Sharma, "Rajderwa Tharu, A Village Survey", Uttar Pradesh Monograph I, Census of India, 1961, Vol. XV. For the geography of the Tarai, see L.R. Singh, The Tarai Region of U.P., A Study in Human Geography, Allahabad, 1965.

6. One will find abundant material in N.K. Basu, "The Spring Festival of India", in Man in India, VII, 1927, p. 111 - 173; J.J. Meyer, Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation, Zurich and Leipzig, 1927, passim, and M. Marriott, "The Feast of Love",

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

published in Krishna: Myths, Rites and Attitudes, edited by Milton Singer, Honolulu, 1966, p. 200 - 212, 229 - 231.

7. Among less recent writings on the Thāru of India, see particularly J.C. Nesfield, "The Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India", in The Calcutta Review, LXXXI, Calcutta, 1885, No. CLIX, p. 30 - 33.

8. Fieldwork financed by the National Centre of Scientific Research, Paris, in the framework of the Cooperative Research Program Nepal which was then under the responsibility of Professor J. Millot.

9. Preliminary Report of the National Population Census, His Majesty's Government of Nepal, Ministry of Economic Planning, Central Bureau of Statistics (Population Section), 1961, p. 5.

10. Despite what G. Tucci writes in Nepal, The Discovery of the Malla, London, 1962, p. 75, the vocabulary of the language of the Thāru of Dāṅg is composed approximately of 40% Hindi words, 40% Nepali words, the remainder englobing borrowings from Urdu and other languages and dialects of Northern India such as Bhojpuri, Maithili, Avadhi, etc. I hope to publish shortly some material on the Thāru verb.

11. According to the statistics which figure in Cereal Grain Production, Consumption and Marketing Patterns, Nepal, 1965 (Ministry of Economic Planning, H.M.G., Kathmandu, p. 34), Dāṅg-Deukhuri produced, in 1965, 52,506 tons of cereals and consumed only 20,325 tons. Generally speaking it is not easy to obtain statistics concerning only Dāṅg because now-a-days Dāṅg-Deukhuri forms one "development district". As D.B. Bista points out in a report entitled Community Development Division United States Aid Mission to Nepal, and dated 15 January 1964, " Dāṅg-Deukhuri as a separate administrative district came into being for the first time in 1951 - 52. Before this the district was part of a bigger district (sometimes Sallyān, sometimes Taulihawa and at other times even of Palpa when Palpa used to be the largest district of all in Nepal). At present Dāṅg-Deukhuri is a separate administrative district by itself with an Area police S.P. office, Mal Adda, Goswara, Adalat, Post Office, Wireless, Divisional Forest Office, Zonal Education Office, Nepal Bank, Hospitals, two Inter-Colleges, three High Schools, six Middle Schools, and 55 Primary Schools. There are 24 Gaon Panchayats in Dāṅg, 12 in Deukhuri and one in Koilavas, a market-town near the Indian border, making the total number of 37 Gaon Panchayats in all in the district".

12. This designation calls to mind the "Bhanar" of B. Pignède, op. cit., p. 301.

13. "Dharchandi" is already mentioned by Nesfield, op. cit., p. 29.

14. On the Paṇḍava in the Epic, see recently G. Dumézil, Mythe et épopée, Paris, 1968, index, p. 642 - 643.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

15. Cf. nep. khutti "peg, stake" (Turner, p. 124): cār means "four".

16. Cf. nep. khalo "threshing-floor" (Turner, p. 117).

17. Turner, p. 322: "the name of two kinds of tree; byasi dh°, a particular kind of fowering tree growing near rivers; lekh dh°, a particular kind of small tree used medicinally for itch". Śarma, p. 536, under dhaṅyero gives "a sort of tree having very small leaves and red flowers". Cf. K. Biswas, Common Medicinal Plants of Darjeeling and the Sikkim Himalayas, Alipore, 1956, p. 55: daheri.

18. The cotton tree Bombax malabaricum. Cf, for instance, Sir G. Watt, The Commercial Products of India, New Delhi, 1966, p. 168 - 169 and K. Biswas, op. cit., p. 38.

19. Turner, p.147: gemara: "a particular kind of black sugar cane". Śarma, p. 265, writes geṅvara: "a sort of thick sugar cane, with a lot of juice, green coloured".

20. See Turner, p. 3, s.v. akṣatā .

21. Cf. Turner, p. 232, jhājar, "emaciated". See also the remarks of J.J. Meyer, op. cit., III, p. 51-52 and the word jarjara in R. Turner, A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages, London, 1966, p. 284.

22. It is on the day of the anniversary of the birth of Krishna, the eighth day of the dark fortnight of sāun, that the Thāru re-decorate the huge rice-storage jars inside their houses. On Kṛṣṇajanmastami in India, see, for instance, S. Stevenson, The Rites of the Twice-Born, London, 1920, p. 317 - 318 and B.A. Gupte, Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials, Calcutta and Simla, 1919, p. 94 - 96.

23. See the article which follows.

24. Cf. P. Hacker, Prahlāda: Werden und Wandlungen einer Idealgestalt, Akad. der Wiss. und der Lit. in Mainz, 1959, Nos. 9 and 13, Wiesbaden, 1960. For Hiranyakaśipu and Prahlāda in Mongolian popular literature, see M. Sushama Loha, The Mongol Tales of the 32 Wooden Men in their Mongol Version of 1746 (1686), Wiesbaden, 1968, p. 26 and 31.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

2. Māghe Saṅkrānti

As Sir R. Turner says, Māghe Saṅkrānti is "an important festival in the month of Māgh in which bathing at a confluence (dobhān) of two rivers plays an important part"[1]. According to G.S. Nepali, this festival is known in Newari by the name of Ghya-chaku-sanhu: but this designation seems to refer primarily to the aliments which are eaten at the festival. "On this day the Newars take bath early in the morning. Every Newar mother on this day anoints the hair of her children with mustard oil, boiled with urid pulse[2]. Thereafter every member of the family is offered by the chief lady of the house-hold a piece of solidified ghee, jaggery[3], and a sweet ball of til[4]. Following it is a family feast. This festival is observed also by the Gorkhas in a similar manner"[5]. B. Pignède for his part, has briefly noted that Māghe Saṅkrañti is celebrated among the Gurung: "Cyura[6] (lumps of cheese) and tame (tubers found in the woods) are eaten at the evening meal"[7].

Māghe Saṅkranti is quite definitely the most important regular collective festival of the Thāru religious year in the Dāṅg area where I worked. It is this festival rather than Dasain--which also is important --which is called caḍ. In 1967, the festival occurred on January 13. The previous evening, small groups of Thāru started to prepare the pigs which they had just bought: their throats were cut, they were depilated (the bristles were later sold), then the carcasses were scorched in the fire to burn off the hairs which remained. After having emptied and dismembered them everything is shared out very carefully into lots--a packet of entrails, some fat, some red meat, etc. --for each of those who took a share in the purchase. During the three or four days which follow, small parties will be held all over the village. These pigs are not slaughtered with any sacrificial intent but simply to be eaten.

Towards nightfall, many men -- the women being occupied above all with cooking -- met together in the house of the mahatuã to eat, and in particular to drink and to sing. They can drink all night until the cock crows, but on Māghe Saṅkranti day they should abstain before the ritual bath. Towards 3 A.M., when I left the mahatuã's house to go to the site of the melā, other Thāru were setting out to bathe in the river, Babai Ladyā. There is no pujā thañ there, and no ritual takes place at that time on its banks. However, there as elsewhere, all the Thāru, after bathing, must put on clean clothes which they wear on the day of Māghe Saṅkrānti and also on the two following days.

The melā, as it was called, took place a few kilometres north of Sewar and a few hundred metres to the south of a village called Parsaini East. At the junction of a water channel with a little river (the Laraina), a dam had been built so as to form a temporary pool in which the faithful could perform their ablutions. The construction had already begun when I visited the site fifteen days previously. At 4 A.M. one

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

solitary Thāru couple and their ewe were already beside the puja thān: they had been deceived by their cock which had crowed too early. The thān had already been prepared the previous evening. On a raised level bit of ground, were three big smooth stones and one small pile of stones, laid out in a square. Four banana trunks and a bamboo were stuck in the ground at the corners and formed, at the start of the ceremonies, a sort of canopy above the thān. Around 4:30 A.M. the principal pujāri (the mahatuā of Parsaini East) arrived with two acolytes. They installed themselves some paces to the north of the thān, undressed, bathed and came back, wearing only their slips. The pujāri had brought with him a horse made of baked clay, the steed of Berrwā[8]. He placed it on the thān facing towards the north-east (that is to say towards the rising sun), then he put around its neck a white cotton thread and lit a small oil lamp in front of it. Groups of Thāru then began to arrive from all directions. One could recognise by their clothes some Thāru from Deukhuri. Certain Thāru came on horseback, most on foot. A man arrived pushing a bicycle: "It is to show it off that he brought it", dekhaune kam ho, said a Brahmin sarcastically.. The crowd, which was growing rapidly, was composed mainly of couples who came in the hope that the gods would give them a child in the coming year, or to give thanks for a child who had been born during the past year. Besides the Thāru, one also saw some Desi, that is to say Indians from villages near the frontier (Koilavas area). There were relatively few Pahāri, but some Matvāli Chetri from the highlands to the north of the valley. It seemed to me that most of those present came from around Manpur (to the east of the Dāṅg aerodrome) and from the little town of Ghorahi, in the East of the valley. Everyone was in a good mood and on the whole the prevailing atmosphere reminded me of that which reigned during a meeting of jhākri which I had observed a few years previously in a district of West No. 1. Very soon a laughing group of young men formed up to the South East of the thān and started dancing in a haphazard fashion, encouraged by a lone mādal player.

Meanwhile, the pujāri took a pigeon and poured water on its head[9]. When the pigeon had shaken itself, the pujāri plucked its head, nape and wings and put the feathers on the three seats of the divinities, that is to say, on the three stones. Then holding a khukuri, blade upwards, under his left foot, he cut the pigeon's neck, went three times round the stones anti-clockwise and threw its body to the east of the thān and its head between the stones, on which he sprinkled water and alcohol. Next, in two separate movements, he put some aceta on the three main stones. The pujāri and his two assistants then gave each other ṭikā, sat down on a mat to the north of the thān and drank some alcohol.

The sacrificer, a man from Parsaini, who was going to cut down the victims, sharpened his khukuri on one of the stones of the thān, and the offerings began. Everyone behaved in a similar way. First, a bath in the freezing water, the men clad in a slip or shorts and the women in a blouse and skirt, with the exception of a few Desini who bathed in their sāri. All, both men and women, took care to pour water over their own heads as well as over their bodies. Some young Chetris and Brahmins were shivering; they took no pains to hide how little pleasure they derived from this early morning bath, despite the encouragement voiced by their

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

fathers who dried them noisily when they came out of the water. Then everyone poured water on the animal he had brought or carried to the sacrifice. As soon as the beast shook itself, it was taken to the sacrificer who cut its head off with a blow from his khukuri. A lighted wick in a leaf-cup with some cāmal was then deposited on the thān. Sometimes fruit and flowers were also offered, or garlands were draped around the stones on which copper coins were also laid. Men and women moved around the site, hand in hand, generally in couples but sometimes two women together, sometimes one man between two women. On two or three occasions, a few paisa were handed to the sacrificer in recompense for his services and he placed them on the thān. The animals' severed heads were deposited on the thān and the bodies carried off quite swiftly by the donors. The Tharu do not eat the meat from these sacrifices inside their houses. An animal dedicated to Berrwā will be consumed outside by the donor and friends he has invited (and who were perhaps not present at the sacrifice), for fear that eating the sacrifice inside would offend the deutā and bhutva of the house, to whom the animal was not dedicated.

To warm themselves after the bath, each group made a fire of straw, near which their clothes had been left in a heap. Nearby, sugar-cane was being sold, as well as oranges, bidi and sweets, school exercise-books and the inevitable ṭhulo-varna mālā which is sold at every melā in the area.

After the bath and the offering, ṭikā were given, with both hands, by couples and individuals to the mahatuā. They took grains of purple-coloured rice mixed with milk-curd from a high-rimmed tharu thal which lay ready in front of the pujāri. After the ṭikā on the forehead, the donor lays a hand on the shoulders of the mahatuā, then on his knees, then on his feet. The man does this first and is followed by the woman. The mahatuā with his two thumbs puts a ṭikā on each person's forehead and gives his blessing. Then, to intimate that they can take leave, he touches the donors on the forehead with his right hand, somewhat in the manner of a lama who gives his blessing to a devotee. Couples who come with a baby put a few paisa on the ground alongside the mahatuā and make the child's head touch his feet. At the busiest moment, around 7 A.M., there were, it seemed, about five hundred people present. By 8:30 A.M. only three hundred remained.

The two stones at the North and South represent respectively Barāha[10] and Nārayaṇa[11]. The pile of stones to the West was made by devotees either as thanks for the birth of a child or because, struck by the shape of a stone (saligram, etc.) they had felt they should deposit it on the thān: little attention is paid to this pile throughout the rites. One man assured me that the stone at the East was the seat of Bāsudev[12], but the general Tharu opinion opted for Berrwa.

On returning from the ceremony, I breakfasted in a Brahmin house where I was served khicari[13], one of the dishes which is de rigueur among the Hindu castes on the day of Māghe Saṅkrānti. We also ate honey, crushed nuts and wild mulberries cooked in ghiu. On Māghe Saṅkrānti day, little work is done in the villages. It is on this day that all who work

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

for others either renew their contract for the coming year, or change their employer, or state their intention of leaving the area. To do this, they all come together, including the young cow-herds (bardyā) in the village headman's house. This verification of civil status by the headman is known as māghe diwāni karna. The Chetri and the Brahmins also follow Tharu custom and renew their contracts on the same day. Indeed a Thāru is not entitled to leave his employer between one month of Māgh and another[14].

Cows and cow-buffaloes are not milked on the day of Māghe Saṅkrānti and cattle are allowed to graze for an hour or two in fields where the harvest looks as if it will be poor (for instance, in fields of mustard) "because it is their festival, too".

In the afternoon, a few Thāru from Sewar began to clown about with a gun, a hobby-horse and an armless and legless female figurine in wood, with an enormous sex. No scenario met with general agreement, and one got the impression that if these properties had in time past constituted a meaningful whole, their significance had now-a-days been completely forgotten. At Katuki, men danced sporadically, and women sang timidly in small groups. But the greater part of the afternoon was given up to drinking and eating. On the whole the women, occupied with doing the cooking and serving the men, appeared more sober than the latter, who only drank and gave orders to the women. Even young children five or six years old were completely drunk and flopped down here and there.

On the 15th also, groups of girls formed and sang. In the evening, at Sewar and at Katuki, they went the rounds of the village. Certain of them sheltered under parasols. Others carried supple sticks with which they tapped on the ground, in rhythm with the songs. This also, I was assured, serves to stave off the attacks of the bhutvā and boksi. Generally, these groups were composed of people of the same age-groups; very young girls kept together, as did young unmarried girls along with young wives, etc. According to my informants, this practice of going round the houses and taking up a collection is of recent date. The money which is collected during these rounds goes to pay for the feasts of pig-meat which continue throughout this period. In actual fact, little money is collected; the maximum which I saw one house give was eight āna; generally it was only a few paisa. The last dance which I watched took place during the night of the 16th/17th.

Before undertaking an analysis of the influences manifested in Thāru collective rituals, it would be necessary, obviously, to study more deeply other aspects of their culture, in particular the magico-religious rituals practised by the household. I propose to do this in future publications.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

NOTES

1. Turner, p. 500; on this festival in India, see Y. Subhashini Subrahmanyam, "The Ritual Complex of Saṅkrānti" in Anthropos, 62, 1-2, Freiburg, 1967, p. 236 - 238; S. Stevenson, op. cit., p. 272 - 274; B.A. Gupte, op.cit., p. 144 - 146; E.W. Hopkins in Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Edinburgh, 1912, Vol. V, p. 869; and recently, in Nepāli, M. Pusyaratna Vajracarya, op. cit., p. 132 - 137.

2. Phasaeolus mungo. Cf. G. Watt, op. cit., p. 880 - 881.

3. Sweets. See H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, London, 1903, p. 446: "jaggery".

4. Sesamum indicum. Cf. G. Watt, op. cit., 981 - 987.

5. G.S. Nepali, The Newars, Bombay, 1965, p. 386 - 387.

6. The word is certainly Tibetan: tib. phyur-ba, "cheese". The cyura of Pignède should not be confused with nep. cyurā, "parched rice".

7. B. Pignède, Les Gurungs, p. 306.

8. I must introduce briefly at this point a personage of the magico-religious pantheon who occupies an important place in domestic rituals. Bĕrrwā's stted, his vāhana one would say in Indianist terms, is a horse with closed mouth in baked earth. According to a legend current in Dāṅg, five brothers (Madhva, Bĕrrwā, Jagadnattiya, Jinguni and Demodaŭrā) come from the region of Harikablas (the area of Mount Kailas) where their gurvā was Ganpat Gurvā. They set out on foot for Bengal in order to perfect their training and especially to learn to cure serpent and scorpion bites, to counter the attacks of bhutvā, and to learn the use of medicinal herbs. Their route led them by Surkhet up to Paṭan. This Paṭan is situated near the town of Tulsipur in India, south-east of Dāṅg. The temple of Paṭan Devī, "one of the oldest seats of śaivite worship in Northern India", has been very well described by G.W. Briggs, Gorakhnath and the Kanphaṭa Yogis, Calcutta, 1938, p. 90 - 97. At Pāṭan, the five brothers in question offered a buffalo in homage to this devī and cut its throat. At the seat of Saura, the divinity of their own deutā, they sacrificed a pig by beating it to death. To the devī as well as to Saura they offered flowers and prayed to her for success in their studies. After a stay of five years in Bengal, they passed by Paṭan once more on their return journey. Then at Beldamar, on the banks of the Arjun Khola, they saw the burial-place of a Tharu who had died five years previously; each of the five brothers tried to bring the latter back to life. Demodaŭrā alone succeeded. The name of the latter evokes that of Damodara (Krishna), the cow-herd god who, according to Ch. Vaudeville "belongs to the most ancient stock of Hindu beliefs" and whose cult "beyond the forms which can be observed at present, and which are more or less brahmanised, has roots which delve into the religious pre-history of India" ("Aspects

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

du Mythe de Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla dans l'Inde ancienne', p. 760 in Mélanges d'Indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou, Paris, 1968, p. 737 - 761).

9. Parsanu (Turner. p. 368) "to sprinkle (esp. to sprinkle a sacrificial victim with water to make it shake itself, which is considered an auspicious sign)". If perchance the victim does not shake itself, it is set free without being sacrificed. In Subhadra Jha, The Formation of the Maithili Language, London, 1958, p. 636, in a list of words which changed their meaning in passing from Sanskrit to Maithili, one finds sk. parīkṣā "test", maith. pariccha "shaking of the whole body by a goat before sacrifice". Cf. too, A.W. Macdonald, Matériaux pour l'étude de la littérature populaire tibétaine, I, Paris, P.U.F., 1967, p. 109 and note 2.

10. For Viṣṇu in the form of Varāha, see, for instance, the important study by M.J. Gonda, op. cit., Ch. XIX: "The Boar", p. 129 - 145.

11. For Nārāyaṇa, see for instance, L. Renou in L'Inde Classique, I, Paris, 1947, p. 502 - 503; J. Gonda, op. cit., passim; E.W. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, Strassburg, 1915, index, p. 255.

12. E. Washburn Hopkins, op.cit., p. 213.

13. Khicari (Turner, p. 122): "a mixture of rice and lentils cooked together". Cf. for instance H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, op. cit., p. 476 - 477, "kedgeree", "kitchery". R.C. Sharma, op. cit., p. 49, designates the festival itself by the name of khicari.

14. At Kathmandu, the capital, it is at the time of Dasai that governmental posts are renewed. S. Lévi wrote: "Dasaĩ ... marks the beginning of the administrative and domestic year. The annual repartition of jobs is fixed definitively on the first day of Dasaĩ. This is also the day when servants are hired and when they receive New Year's gifts. At the end of the tenth day of the holiday, the King gives a great reception, darbar, and the government officials who retain their positions or those newly appointed, go and present their respects, with their offerings, to their respective chiefs" (op. cit., II, p. 55).

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

The hierarchy of the lower Jāt

Since Nepal was opened to Western research in 1950, ethnologists, with the exception of my colleague Marc Gaborieau[1], do not seem to have shown much interest in the Mulukī Ain, 'the Law (applicable to) the whole country', which I shall from now on call the Nepalese Code[2]. After staying for varying lengths of time in different regions of the Nepalese territory, they have chosen, on the basis of direct observations limited by variable linguistic knowledge, to sketch their own theories of the Nepalese social order rather than study directly the juridical theory which the government of Kathmandu undertakes to enforce[3]. It is true that this Code, which gives rise to many attitudes and explains many types of behaviour, is not an easy text[4]. And I must say that without the help of two Nepalese colleagues, D.P. Rajaure and K.B. Bista, I should never have understood certain passages which were particularly terse. Being myself neither a jurist nor a specialist in the language of the Code, I propose to give here a translation of one of its sections, in the hope that it will draw attention to this text which is too little known in the West, and give rise to translations from others more competent than I, which will make known larger extracts of the Code.

For reasons which it would be fastidious to enumerate but among which is certainly included the relative availability of interpreters in those circles, Anglo-Saxon researchers seem to me to have been preoccupied above all during the last few years with the upper strata of Nepalese society[5]. Now with the modernisation of the economy, the barriers between the lower jāt are crumbling, and their behaviour vis-a-vis the higher jāt is being modified, both in theory and in fact. I have therefore chosen the section Pānī nacalne jātko which deals with the lowest strata of the society: their place in the hierarchy of the jāt which are enumerated there has been studied very little and a detailed ethnographical study of them still remains to be done. Moreover, this section, as we shall see, provides a precise and detailed example of the basic practices concerning food on which are based many theoretical justifications (generally originating in India) for a pure power. I have chosen to use the edition of 2012 B.S. (=1955 A.D.), because, in the field at Dang in 1967[6], I ascertained that this edition is the one which is usually consulted in the villages where the edition of 1963 A.D., not yet in general circulation, is not known[7]. Actually the latest edition of the Code omits the section which we are going to translate and so provides a less useful tool for a contemporary social analysis, as its prescripts and its omissions have not yet been incorporated in the customs of the people.

"JAT[8] FROM WHOM WATER IS NOT ACCEPTABLE

1. In that they eat food left over (juṭho) from the jāt of the Upādhyāya to the jāt of the Poḍe, the Cyāmakhalak are the lowest jāt (literally 'the smallest', sabai jāt bhandā sano[9]).

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

2. In that they eat food left over by other jāt with the exception of the Cyāmakhalak, the Poḍe are higher than the Cyāmakhalak. In that the Bādī, who make a living by begging, singing and dancing even inside the homes of those contact with whom requires purification by sprinkling of water, do not eat food from the hands of the Cyamakhalak and the Poḍe, the Bādī jāt is higher than those two jāt[10].

3. In that they do not eat food from the hands of the Bādī, the jāt of the Gāine, who make a living singing, playing instruments and begging, is higher than that of the Bādī[11].

4. In that they do not eat food from the hands of the Gāine and do not accept food from children born of their gāinenī wives, the jāt of the Damāi is higher than that of the Gāine[12].

5. Descendants of Sārkī-Kāminī or Kāmī-Sārkīnī marriages will be of the Kaḍara jāt. The Damāi will accept water from their hands, but they will not accept water from the hands of the Damāi. Therefore the jāt of the Kaḍārā is higher than the jāt of the Damāi[13].

6. The Sārkī do not accept water from the hands of the Kāmī. The Kāmī do not accept water from the hands of the Sārkī. They each accept grilled or roasted food from the other. In that the Kāmī and the Sārkī did not used to accept either rice[14] or water from the children of mixed marriages (of these two jāt), the jāt of the Kāmī and the Sārkī are higher than that of the Kaḍārā. Even today the Kāmī and the Sārkī accept water from a child of a mixed marriage but do not accept food. The Kāmī and the Sārkī who drink water (under these conditions) do not need a certificate of readmission (patiyā) into their jāt[15].

7. As the Kulū do not take either rice or water from the hands of these seven jāt (mentioned above), and in that there is no female line of descent from one of these seven jāt, and because the Kulū purify themselves by patiyā in cases where they have accepted rice or water from the Damāi, Kāmī or Sārkī or they have had sexual relations with (women of these jāt), the jāt of the Kulū, who are leather workers, is higher than these (seven) jāt[16].

The jāt from whom water is not acceptable and contact with whom does not require purification by sprinkling with water:

Musalmān	Dhobī[20]
Madheśka Telī[17]	Kulū
Kasāi[18]	Mleccha[21]
Kusle[19]	Cuḍarā[22]

The jāt from whom water is not acceptable and contact with whom requires purification by sprinkling of water:

Sārkī	Damāi
Kāmī	Gāine
Sunār[23]	Bādībhad[26]
Cunārā[24]	Poḍe
Hurke[25]	Cyamakhalak

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

8. In that they do not eat from the hands of these jāt, and as they do not even wash the clothes of those jāt contact with whom requires purification by sprinkling of water, and as they may enter as far as the reception room in the homes of other (more) important jāt, the jāt of the Hindu Dhobī is higher than those jāt mentioned above.

9. In that they do not eat from the hands of the jāt mentioned above, the jāt of the Kusle, who sweep and clean in the palaces and courts of Amīr and Bharadar[27] and in the temples, and earn a living by playing musical instruments in the religious places, is higher than these jāt.

10. As the Kasāi do not take rice or water from these other jāt or from the Kusle, and as all the jāt higher (than the Kasāi) do not accept milk from the hands of the Kusle, but accept cow's or buffalo's milk from the hands of the Kasāi, the jāt of the Kasāi is higher than the jāt of the Kusle.

11. If a Kulū has sexual relations with a consenting person, be she a married woman, a widow or a young girl of any jāt from whom water is acceptable, including those who wear the sacred thread, the man and the woman who have had sexual relations should be punished according to the Law which applies to the jāt contact with whom does not require purification by sprinkling of water. If a (Kulū) man has sexual relations with a prostitute, both should be punished with the equivalent of a third of the punishment due to the man who has had relations with a married woman.

12. If a Kāmī and a Sarkīnī or a Sārkī and a Kāminī have sexual relations, and if one of the partners accepts rice from the other, the man and the woman should both pay a fine of Rs. 10. If a Kaḍarā has sexual relations with a Kāminī or a Sarkīnī, he should pay a fine of Rs. 12, and the Kāminī or the Sarkīnī in question should pay a fine of Rs. 8. If a Kaḍarā woman has sexual relations with a Kāmī or a Sārkī, she should pay a fine of Rs. 8, and the man in question should pay a fine of Rs. 12.

13. If a man or a woman of a jāt from whom water is not acceptable and contact with whom requires purification by sprinkling of water has sexual relations with a person of a jāt contact with whom does not require purification by sprinkling of water, or vice versa, the man should pay a fine of Rs. 20 and the woman a fine of Rs. 10. The man or the woman of the higher jāt will from then on be integrated into the partner's lower jāt.

14. If a man, knowingly, has sexual relations with a widow, a married woman or a young girl, more than eleven years old, of a jāt from whom water is not acceptable and contact with whom does not require purification by sprinkling of water, and if this man has not accepted rice and water from her, whether he has or has not given them to others afterwards, he should, if he belongs to a jāt which wears the sacred thread, pay a fine of Rs. 100. If he belongs to a jāt which has right to Rs. 40 as 'marriage indemnity'[28] he should pay a fine of Rs. 50. If he belongs to a jāt which has right to less than Rs. 40 as 'marriage indemnity', he should pay a fine of Rs. 25. If he has given rice and water to others (after the act), he has the right to a certificate of purification

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

(patiyā): the fees for the purification should be paid by him and he should then have a ceremony of expiation (prayascit)[29] performed for him. Rice and water will then be acceptable from him. If he had accepted rice and water from a woman (of a jāt contact with whom does not require purification by sprinkling of water) or if he had knowingly had sexual relations with a woman of a jāt contact with whom requires purification by sprinkling of water, whether or not he had accepted rice and water from her, if he had not then given rice and water to others, he should be punished by confiscation of his goods and condemned to one year in prison. In a case where (under these conditions) he had given rice and water to others, his goods should be confiscated and he should be condemned to one year and a half in prison. Then, if he belonged to a jāt which wears the sacred thread, his thread should be taken away and he should be excluded from his jāt. If he belonged to a jāt which does not wear the thread, he should simply be excluded from his jāt. Finally he should be incorporated into the jāt of the woman with whom he had sexual relations.

In the case of a man who, before the act, had declared to the court his intention to have sexual relations with a woman of a jāt from whom water is not acceptable, and to subsequently take the jāt of this woman, or in the case of a man who, having had sexual relations with a woman of a jāt from whom water is not acceptable, and having then taken the jāt of the said woman, informed the court of his actions before they had learned of them from another source, and if finally he had proved that after the act he had not given rice and water to others (to whom he should not give them), his incorporation into the jāt of the woman in question should be recognised officially; he should not be comdemned to prison and his goods should not be confiscated.

15. If a woman of a jāt from whom water is acceptable has voluntarily had sexual relations with a man of a jāt contact with whom requires or does not require purification by sprinkling of water, and if she has given rice and water to a member of a jāt equal to her own after the act, once the sexual relations are known and proved, she shall be imprisoned for two years. If she has not given rice and water to a member of her own jāt (afterwards), she shall be imprisoned for one year. In both cases she shall be integrated into the jāt of the man with whom she has had sexual relations. Rice and water will not therefore be acceptable from her afterwards either by her jāt of origin or by any higher jāt. If a woman of a jāt contact with whom does not require purification by sprinkling of water has had sexual relations with a man of a jāt contact with whom does require purification by sprinkling of water, she shall be imprisoned for three months, and then she shall be integrated into the jāt of the man with whom she has had relations.

16. If a woman who, by birth or in consequence of her acts, belongs to a jāt contact with whom does or does not require purification by sprinkling of water, permits a man of a jāt from whom water is acceptable, to have sexual relations with her, and if she then gives him rice and water, she shall be imprisoned for two years. If the woman had not given him rice and water, she should be imprisoned for one year. If it is proved that the woman lied concerning her jāt before committing the act, she should be imprisoned for a period twice as long.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

17. A man (of a jāt from whom water is acceptable or who wears the sacred thread) who has sexual relations in error concerning the jāt with a person of a jāt from whom water is not acceptable, may obtain a certificate of purification (patiyā). If, acting erroneously, before committing the act he did not inform himself on her jāt, and if he accepted rice from a woman who was subsequently recognised as belonging to a jāt from whom water is not acceptable, this man may not obtain a certificate of purification for the rice he accepted. If, before the act, the man wore the sacred thread, the thread shall be taken away from him and he shall be given a certificate of purification (only) for the water he accepted from her. Then this man who previously wore the sacred thread shall be integrated into the jāt of the Śūdra who have a right to Rs. 40 as 'marriage indemnity'. If this man previously belonged to a jāt which has a right to Rs. 40 as 'marriage indemnity' he shall become a member of a jāt from whom water is acceptable and which has a right to less than Rs. 40 as 'marriage indemnity'. If the man previously belonged to a jāt from whom water is acceptable which obtains less than Rs. 40 as 'marriage indemnity', he shall remain in his own jāt.

18. If a man of a jāt contact with whom does not require purification by sprinkling of water has sexual relations with a woman of a jāt contact with whom does require purification by sprinkling of water, if the husband of this woman is still living, and if the lover of the woman belongs according to the Jārī Ain[30] to a jāt whose members may be killed by the husband, the husband may exercise his right. If the husband does not have the right to kill his wife's lover, or if the husband does not insist on killing him, or again if the woman in question is a young girl or a widow and if she has not (subsequently) given rice and water to relatives of her jāt, then the lover shall be punished according to the Ain of the jāt of the woman with whom he has had sexual relations.

19. If a woman of a jāt from whom water is not acceptable (whether or not she belongs to a jāt contact with whom requires purification by sprinkling of water) has permitted a man of a jāt from whom water is acceptable and who had not yet received his sacred thread, to have sexual relations with her, telling him that she was a member of a pure jāt (cokho), she should be punished according to the Ain. If she had given rice and water to this man, he should have the right to a certificate of purification for having accepted rice and water in error. When he receives the sacred thread he shall remain in his jāt.

20. If a Musulman has sexual relations with a woman of a Hindu jāt from whom water is not acceptable such as the Kasāi, Kusle, Kulū, Dhobī etc., while her husband is still living, he should give the 'marriage indemnity' according to the Ain. If the man had (subsequently) given rice and water (to others to whom he should not give it), he should be condemned to a fine of Rs. 100. If he had not given rice and water he should be condemned to a fine of Rs. 70 (over and above the 'marriage indemnity').

21. If a Musulman has sexual relations with a Moslem woman and if the latter has been married in accordance with the rites, the lover should give Rs. 100 to the husband as 'marriage indemnity'. If the husband does not wish to accept this money the lover should be condemned to eleven

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

months in prison and should pay (to the court) a fine of Rs. 100. If a Musulman has sexual relations with a Moslem woman who has been married in accordance with the rites but who has then had sexual relations (that is she has remarried), the lover should pay Rs. 50 to the second husband as 'marriage indemnity' and also a fine of Rs. 50. If the woman has not been married according to the rites, the lover should pay a fine of Rs. 50 (only). The woman will then be free to stay as she wishes either with her husband or with her lover, (that is to say, her second or third husband).

22. If (another) Musulman has sexual relations with a Curaute Moslem woman who has been married in accordance with the rites to a Curaute citizen of Nepal and of her own jāt, the lover should pay Rs. 60 to the husband as 'marriage indemnity' as well as a fine of Rs. 60. If the woman (subsequently) stays with her husband, or if she has not been married in accordance with the rites of her jāt, the lover will not be obliged to pay the 'marriage indemnity'. He will have to pay only a fine of Rs. 20. Henceforth a Curaute Moslem should not kill his wife's lover.

23. At the time of the payment of the 'marriage indemnity', when it is a jāt from Madhes which is concerned from whom water is not acceptable - whether or not it is a question of a jāt contact with whom requires purification by sprinkling of water-if the case is described in the Ain, the orders of the Ain should be followed. If the case is not described there, if the lover belongs to a jāt from whom water is not acceptable and contact with whom does not require purification by sprinkling of water, he should pay Rs. 20 as 'marriage indemnity'; and if he belongs to a jāt contact with whom requires purification by sprinkling of water he should pay Rs. 15 as 'marriage indemnity'. In the first case he should pay a fine of Rs. 20 and in the second case Rs. 15. If the woman in question has not been married in accordance with the rites, the lover is not obliged to pay the 'marriage indemnity'. He should pay a fine according to what is written in the Ain".

I have not undertaken here a systematic comparison of all the items contained in the Codes available to me[31], concerning the jāt which have been dealt with above. In particular I have not gone into several important passages of the code of Jang Bahadur Rana[32] which no longer appear in the 1955 Code: the translation and commentary of these passages would have diverted us too far. The Nepalese Code is not a document which has been drawn up by a Western scientific mind. Apart from the fact that it is not very well printed, the apparatus which would make it easier to consult - notes, references, index etc., is missing; and in order to be sure that one has not missed a particular important passage, one must read and translate the whole thing. And that is a lengthy undertaking. And yet the translation, by itself, of the Code would not give a picture of the true structure of Nepalese society. For the Code is only a code, which is applied more or less rigorously according to the region. The descriptive ethnographical study of the different populations of Nepal remains our essential task. But this ethnography, at the same time as it clarifies the Code, can also be clarified by it. It is round this double confrontation that one day, which still seems to be far away, a true structural ethnology of Nepal will be built[33].

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

NOTES

See his article "Les Curaute du Moyen Népal: place d'un groupe de Musulmans dans une société de castes", in l'Homme, VI, 3 (July - September 1966), in particular pages 86-91 and his review of B. Pignède, Les Gurungs (Paris, 1966), in L'Anthropologie, 1968, vol. 72, no. I-2, p. I73-6.

2. Nepal was still closed to Westerners, when L. Adam, in "The Social Organisation and Customary Law of the Nepalese Tribes", (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, no. 4, p. 535) mentioned only in passing the 'Nepalese Ain'. Professor Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf does not mention the Mulukī Ain in his four important articles "Elements of Newar Social Structure", Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1956, part II, p. 15-38; "The Interrelations of Castes and ethnic groups in Nepal", BSOAS, XX (1957), p. 243-253; "Caste in the multi-ethnic society of Nepal" (Contributions to Indian Sociology, no. 4, April 1960, p. 13-32) and "Unity and Diversity in the Chetri caste of Nepal" in Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon (London 1966), p. II-67. And yet the Mulukī Ain devotes a certain place to the Matvali Chetri whose existence seems to have been revealed only very recently to the same author (Morals and Merit, A Study of Values and Social Controls in South Asian Societies, London 1967, p. 174).

3. I am purposely leaving aside the problems posed by the study of the regions where the lingua franca is Tibetan. On this subject see D.L. Snellgrove, "For a Sociology of Tibetan speaking regions", in CAJ vol. XI, no. 3, September 1966, p.199-219. The influence of Nepalese law on the behaviour of Tibetan-speaking groups is a field of research as yet unexplored.

4. An anecdote tells how when an important personality complained one day to Maharaja Chandra Samser about the difficulty of interpreting a passage of the Code, the latter replied: "The Code is a mirror (ain ainā ho); every man looks in it first to see his own image".

5. There are some useful tables concerning the lower castes in K.P. Chattopadhyay, "An Essay on the History of Newar Culture", Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, vol. XIX (1923), no. I0, (Calcutta, 1924), p. 546-547. See more recently M. L. Petech, Medieval History of Nepal (Rome 1958), p. 189 and M.D.R. Regmi, Medieval Nepal, Part I (Calcutta, 1965), p. 642-651, 676-677, 682-683, Part II (Calcutta, 1966), p. 754.

6. Field-trip on behalf of the National Centre of Scientific Research in the framework of the Cooperative Research Programme Nepal which is under the direction of Professor J. Millot.

7. For the edition of the Mulukī Ain of the 17th August 1963 A.D., see A. Gupta, Politics in Nepal (Bombay, 1964), p. 265-267 and B.L. Joshi and L.E. Rose, Democratic Innovations in Nepal (Berkeley and Los Angles. 1966), p. 474-475. In a 'democratic' context certain of the

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

laws in this latter edition are certain to give rise to surprise: prohibition of the propagation of the Christian and Islamic religions, (page 223, para.I); I2 years of imprisonment for anyone who knowingly kills a cow, Rs. 40 fine for anyone who kills a yak (p. 190, para. II). The history of the formation of the codes and the study of the cultural background (inscriptions, sthiti, customary laws etc.) constitute an area in which much remains to be done: there is some useful information to be found in the introduction by Suryabahadur Thapa (p. I-7) to the recent re-issue of the code of Jang Bahadur Rana, Sri 5 Surendra Vikram Saha devaka sasan kalma baneko mulukī ain (Kathmandu, 1965). Bāburām Acarya, Nepālko Saṅkśipta Vṛttānta (Kathmandu, 2022 B.S.), p. I33-I34 says that the code in force under King Pratap Singh (I775-I777 A.D.) was recorded by Hodgson on some bahī at the India Office Library but I have not been able to find it. In the context of these researches the publication of an analytical table of the material provided by the Jogi Naraharinath in his large volume Itihasprakaśma sandhipatrasamgraha (Dang, 2022 B.S.) would be useful. If, as Mr. Paul Mus suggests ("Du nouveau sur Ṛgveda, I0,90, Sociologie d'une Grammaire", in Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown (New Haven, 1962, p. 165-185), we should see in the Puruṣasūkta 'the first Hindu constitution', we can measure thus the enormous stretch of time which separates the first Indian constitutional documents from these which we have in Nepal. But did the 'Operation Hinduism' (the expression is Mr. Mus', op. cit., p. I73) develop sociologically so very differently in Nepal in the nineteenth century A.D. and in India at the time of the later Veda? Whatever the case may be, the difference between the civilizing methods of Jayasthiti Malla (who died in 1395 A.D.) and those of Jang Bahadur Rana seems to me at first sight to be much less clear-cut than that which is evident between the Codes of 1955 A.D. and 1963 A.D.

8. On the use of the word jāt in Nepal see Le Monde du Sorcier, Paris 1966, p. 302, n. I0. My translation starts at page I05 of vol. 5 of the Mulukī Ain (Gorkhapatra Chapakhana, 20I2 B.S.), and finishes at page II0.

9. For the Upādhyāya, see for example Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf, Contributions..., IV, p. I6: Upadiya. The Mulukī Ain of I922 B.S. reissued in 2022 B.S. has upalla (==higher) at this point (p. 678) and not Upadhyaya.

The Poḍe, nowadays sweepers, are the Po/Poria of D.R. Regmi, op. cit. I, p. 645,677. Cf. G.S. Nepali, The Newars, Bombay, 1965, p. 186-187: Pore.

Khalak is a Nepali word (Sir R. Turner, Dictionary of the Nepāli Language, London, I93I (henceforth: TURNER), p. II6: 'family, household') but also a Nevāri word (H. Jørgensen, A Dictionary of the Classical Newari, Copenhagen, I936, p. 44: 'a flock, troop'). The Cyāma, nowadays scavengers, are the Chyamkhala of G.S. Nepali who says (op. cit., p. I77): 'This caste considers itself superior to the Parbatia untouchable castes such as the Kami (ironsmith), Sarki

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

(cobbler), Damai (tailor). The Chyamkhala, therefore, does not accept cooked food from these castes'. These statements should be checked in the field before being accepted for they contradict the Code. The author continues: 'The Chyamkhala has a section lower in rank which is said to be the result of the union between a Chyamkhala and other untouchable caste like the Pore. This section is known as Hara-Huru '.See also ibid., p. 186-187. The role played by the Cyamakhalak in the trial by water was described long ago by Hodgson, Some Account of the systems of Law and Police as recognised in the State of Nepal, reprinted in Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian Subjects (London, 1880) p. 2II-250. S. Lévi, Le Népal (Paris 1905), vol. I, p. 244 seems to consider that Chamakallak = Carmakara = Chamar: but for Regmi, I, p. 642,647, Charmakara = Kulu and on p. 677 he distinguishes Chyamkhala from Kulu.

C. Rosser gives some estimates of the number of people belonging to the Pore and to the 'Camkhala' in his article " Social Mobility in the Newar caste system" in Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon, p. 86, 89.

IO. The word Bādī does not occur in TURNER but the word bādi (p. 429: 'a maker of drums') does occur. One finds in B.C. Śarmā, Nepāli Śabda Kos (Kathmandu 20I2 B.S.) (henceforth ŚARMA) p. 947 s.v. vādī: bājā bajāune vyakti, an individual who plays an instrument of music. Regmi, op. cit. I, p. 650, mentions Bādi. The Bādī are mentioned in L. Petech, op. cit. p. I83 followed by a question mark. I believe one must dissociate entirely this jāt from the Nepali word bhāṭ (TURNER, p. 474, 'bard, reciter, panegyrist'). ŚARMA op. cit., p. 786, gives three definitions of the word bhāṭ: i) Descendents of the marriage of a Tin Liṅga Jaisī or of a Jaisī of a higher jāt with a Jaisī girl equal in rank or a Khas girl: ii) People (jāti) who sing hymns of praise to the Rāja, Maharāja and nobles: iii) Descendents of a Brahman and a woman of the sannyasī jāt. On the subject of the 'Bhat' see also F. Hamilton, An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, Edinburgh, I8I9, p. 34. The Bādī are perhaps a sub-section of the Ḍom. See G.W. Briggs, The Ḍoms and their near relations (Mysore, s.d.), p. I05, I9I and K.P. Chattopadhyay, op. cit., p. 560 who quotes 'Hodgson's list': 'Dop, Dom or Bhand' whose occupation was to 'play on the small drum with the Koosoolia and to prostitute their wives for livelihood'. I have been able to confirm that the Bādī often live as neighbours to the Gāine: this is the case for example at Sallyān, where the Gāine assure me that it is the same at Sangkot in the hills to the south-east of Sallyān and west of Lwām (marked Lawāmjulā on the map GSGS 4795, West sheet, First Edition). Certain of the Bādī of Sangkot also have houses and land where they cultivate barley, in the valley of Daṅg. These Bādī come and play music and sing before the houses of higher jāt on the occasion of ceremonies of birth, marriage etc. The orchestra is generally composed of a harmonium and a drum and only the women sing and dance to gather alms. In the region Sallyān-Sangkot-Lwām, the Bādī devote themselves to fishing and it is said that the Badīnī are prostitutes. One would need to check this assertion for it is an accusation made of any woman who sings or dances in public in the puritan Nepalese society. The jāt is famous for making fishing nets.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

II. On the Gāine see "Un aspect des chansons des Gāine du Népal" in Essays offered to G.H. Luce by his colleagues and friends in honour of his 75th birthday, vol. I, Artibus Asiae (Ascona, 1966) p. 187-194 and M. Helffer and A.W. Macdonald, "Sur un sarāṅgi de Gāine" in Objets et Mondes, VI, 2, p. 133. Marc Gaborieau draws my attention to the fact that the portrait of the Gāine which one finds in the Divya Upadeś fits well with the Gāine one sees today: hātma valchiko tāngo lī kākhīmā sāraṅgī cyāpī dui cār dhārnīko mācho lagī, in his hand a fishing rod, under his arm a sarangī, carrying a fish of 2 or 3 dhārni' (Divya Upadeś edited by the Jogi Naraharināth, Kathmandu, 2019, B.S., p. 36).

12. For Damāi, TURNER says simply 'a caste of tailors' (p. 303). The definition by ŚARMA is more precise: bibaha vrat-bandha adima baja bajāune ra luga siune peśa bhaeko ek jāti, 'people whose profession has become that of making music and sewing clothes at marriages, at ceremonies of the giving of the sacred thread etc'. (p. 499). In fact the network of payments and services between the Damāi and their patrons is fairly complex, and one can expect to find several patterns of exchange when ethnographical research is carried further, outside 'the valley'. In Dāṅg, at a big marriage in a Jaisi Bāhun family on 23 April 1967, I noted that the Damai of the house (gharko damai) received, in exchange for his services of music and sewing, a turban the dhoti worn by the husband for his morning bath on the day of his wedding, and also the tails of the castrated he-goats killed for the guests' meal. During the evening, at the bride's home, to entertain the guests, the Badī and Badīni played and danced inside a Tharu house which had been transformed for the occasion while the Damāi stayed outside all the time. In the regions where I have worked, I have never established the existence of a gharko badī or of a gharko gāine. My friend K.B. Bista tells me that in his village in 'the Valley', Jharuwarasi, the Bista give to the Damai of the house a certain quantity of grain and of maize at harvest: in return the Damai sews the clothes for the family. He used to receive a mana of rice for each piece sewn: hat, jacket etc. Normally the Damāi does not receive payment in kind from his patron: if he does, these payments are considered as bakas. At Dasai the Damai receives from his employer a goat's tail and a bhag of food. The Damāi is fed during the day that he is working for his patron. At Bista marriages the participation of five Damāi is necessary: and if they are hired they are paid in kind. On the role of the Damai amongst the Gurung, see B. Pignède, Les Gurungs, index p. 402 s.v. tailleur, and amongst the Magar, J. Hitchcock, The Magars of Banyan Hill (Chicago, 1966), p. 73-75.

13. The definition of Kadārā given by ŚARMA is imprecise (p. 149): kamisarki-sarahako ek jāt, 'a jāt equal to Kami-Sarki'.

14. The Nepali word which I translate simply as 'rice' is bhāt. The word bhāt means, of course, cooked rice: but the expression in fact covers any cereal (maize, wheat, millet, rice, etc.) which is cooked in water for the morning or evening meal. Certain types of food are not included in the category of bhāt: phalphul and khānekura are not

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

bhāt. It is important to distinguish sometimes certain preparations with a rice base which are to be eaten by different levels of the hierarchy: thus terso puwā should be distinguished from tharro puwā. In practice there are regional variations.

I5. The Sārkī and Kāmī are two pahāri jāt who work respectively with leather and metal. ŚARMA, p. I072, gives as a second meaning of Sārkī, carmakār. For the relationships between the Sārkī and the Gurung, see Pignède, op.cit. p. 402 s.v. savetier, and between the Sārkī and the Magar, J Hitchcock, op. cit., p. 77. For the Kāmī and the Gurung, see Pignède, ibid., p. 397 s.v. forgeron: and for the Kāmī and the Magar, J. Hitchcock, ibid. p.76-77. For the Kāmī and the Sherpas, see C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, "The Sherpas of the Khumbu Region" in Mount Everest, Formation, Population and Exploration of the Everest Region, London, 1963. p.141-142.

bhuṭnu means 'to cook directly in the fire' and polnu 'to cook in clarified butter'.

patiyā, as TURNER points out, p. 362, means 'the ceremony of readmission into caste' and the certificate of that readmission is known as the patiya purji.

I6. On the Kulū (which he writes as Kullu) see G.S. Nepali, op. cit., p. I77, I86; D.R. Regmi, op.cit., p. 643, 646-647, 682-683 and C. Rosser, op. cit., p. 86, 89. There was a section of the Code of Jang Bahadur Rana devoted to the Kulū (p. 675 of the re-issue): here it is in translation:

"(i) If a Kulū has sexual relations with a consenting person of more than eleven years old, whether she be a young girl, a married woman or a widow, of a Newari jāt which cannot be reduced to slavery, and if he gives her rice and water, he will be imprisoned for two years and may be reduced to slavery. If he does not give her rice and water, he may only be enslaved. If the woman accepts water from him she shall be imprisoned for one year: if she does not accept it, she shall simply be marked by iron with a letter on the left cheek, and shall fall to a jāt from whom water is not acceptable. Instead of going to prison, she may pay a fine.

(ii) If a Kulū has sexual relations with a consenting person aged more than eleven years, whether she be a young girl, a married woman or a widow, of a Newari jāt which can be reduced to slavery, and if he gives her rice and water, he shall be imprisoned for one year. If he does not give her rice and water, he may only be reduced to slavery like the woman. Over and above that, the woman shall be marked by an iron with a letter and shall fall to a jāt from whom water is not acceptable.

(iii) If a Kulū has sexual relations with a consenting person who is a prostitute of a Newari jāt but who does not live by the rules of her jāt and if he gives her rice and water, he may be reduced to slavery. If the woman in question is of a Newari jāt which cannot

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

be reduced to slavery, she shall be marked by iron with a letter and shall fall to a jāt from whom water is not acceptable then shall be released. If the woman belongs to a jāt which can be reduced to slavery, she shall be marked by iron with a letter and shall be reduced to slavery. If the Kulū and the prostitute (in question) do not give each other rice and water and do not give them (subsequently) to others, they should not be accused.

(iv) If a Kulū runs away with a prostitute of a jāt which wears the sacred thread and has the right to kill the wife's lover, whether he gives her water or not, he may be reduced to slavery". I have no space here to elaborate the important distinction which operates in the Codes prior to 1924 between those who may be reduced to slavery (masinya) and those who may not (namasinya). I shall merely confirm that there are in the Code of 1922 B.S. two practically identical lists of masinya jāt. Namely, p. 367: Bhotya, Cepang, Majhi, Danuvar, Hayu, Darai, Kumal, Pahari gaihra māsinya jāt and on p. 624: Bhoṭe, Cepāng, Dahrai, Mājhi, Hāyu, Danavār, Kumāl, Pahari gaihra māsinyā jāt. Bhoṭe/Bhoṭyā always raises difficulties in the Codes. It seems to apply to every inhabitant of 'Great Tibet' (or should one consider the latter as Mleccha?) as well as the Tibetan-speaking people within the political boundaries of Nepal. The edict published on p. 701-702 of the reissue of the Code of 1922 B.S. seems to distinguish the Valāmī (could they be the Holange of l'Homme, VI, I, p. 46, n. 30 ? C. Jest has suggested to me that the latter might be the inhabitants of the region of 'Wallanchoon' visited by Hooker, Himalayan Journals, London, 1905, p. 145) from the Murmi and the Bhoṭyā. However this may be there do exist some Newari Balāmī.

17. On the Telī, pressers of oil, of the old Central Provinces, see R.V. Russell and Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India (London 1916 vol. IV, p. 542-547. On the the relationship between the Telī and the Ḍom, see G.W. Briggs, op. cit., passim.

18. On the Kasāi, butchers and sellers of meat, see G.S. Nepali, op. cit. p. 175-177, 185, 308, 310 and D.R. Regmi, op. cit., I, p. 643, 647. Regmi remarks: 'It is strange that although water touched by a Kasai is not accepted, milk mixed with water is accepted from his hands'. There are, of course, both Hindu and Moslem Kasāi in the old 'Central Provinces' (Russell and Hira Lal, op. cit., vol. III, p. 346-348).

19. On the Kusle, musicians and sweepers, see G.S. Nepali, op. cit., p. 183, 177, 185-186, 356 and D.R.Regmi, op. cit., I, p. 557-559, 642, 646-647, 704. Also C. Rosser, loc. cit., p. 86, 89.

20. The ancient jāt of washermen of 'the Valley' seems to have been the Sangat/Sanghat/Sango who, according to G.S. Nepali, op. cit., p. 175, are disappearing. See also D.R. Regmi, op. cit., I, p. 647, 676, 704. The Sangat do not appear in the lists given by C. Rosser, loc. cit.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

21. ŚARMA, p. 859, has a spicy note on the Mleccha which begins with the definition 'who do not speak Sanskrit' and ends with 'disgusting'.

22. It was from Marc Gaborieau's article, loc. cit., p. 87, that I learned that Cuḍarā in this context means Curauṭe.

23. ŚARMA p. 1088, says: sun, candīkā gahanāharu banāune jāti, 'people who make ornaments of gold and silver'. There is not always a clear distinction made between the Sunar and the Kami. See J. Hitchcock, op. cit., p. 76-77 and B. Pignède, op. cit., p. 400: or, orfèvre and orfèvrerie.

24. Misled by the spelling, I wrote in error 'Kaḍarā' in Objets et Mondes, VI, 2, p. 133: Marc Gaborieau points out that TURNER, p. 165, has: Canaro/Cādaro/Cūdaro/Cunaro, 'a maker of wooden vessels'. ŚARMA, p. 297, also has the spelling Canaro. Nepal and the Gurkhas, Ministry of Defence, London, 1965, p. 132, mentions the 'Chunara (carpenter and maker of bamboo vessels, who often lives in small colonies of rough huts on the edge of the jungle)'. My colleague P. Sagant tells me that there are at least two families of Canaro in the Mewa Khola, in Limbu country in East Nepal. None the less, the fact remains that one would have expected to find at this point in our text Kaḍara and not Cunara for this list only takes up again in reverse the facts given in the first seven paragraphs, omitting Kaḍara but adding Sunar, Cunara and Hurke.

25. The word Hurke is not to be found in the common dictionaries. However there are some Hurkiya known in Kumaon and Garhwal. There are references in S.D. Pant, The Social Economy of the Himalayans (London, 1935), p. 112-115,232: E.S. Oakley and Tara Dutt Gairola, Himalayan Folklore, Allahabad, 1935, photo as frontispiece and p. ix, x: G.W. Briggs, The Doms...p. 94, 112, 115 and R.P. Srivastava, "Tribe-Caste Mobility in India and the case of Kumaon Bhotias" in Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon (London, 1966), p. 198-199. Cf. W. Crooke, The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh (Calcutta, 1896), vol. IV, p. 364-371, s.v. Tawâif.

26. There is an inscription dated śrīśake 1279, it seems, on a koṭistambha at Dullukot bhanjyāng, which has been published on page 767 of Itihāsprakaśmā Sandhipatrasamgraha by the Jogi Naraharināth. This inscription had already been published by M.G. Tucci who said on the subject: 'Pṛthvīmalla is praised for having exempted for ever from taxation, the bhikṣu, the brahmins (dvija), the preachers (dharmabhanaka) and the artisans sutradharaka' (Preliminary Report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal, Rome, 1956, p. 50). The Jogi Naraharināth adds to the text of the inscription a gloss, the central sentence of which is as follows: 'Ti rājā Pṛthvīmallale āphnā rājyamā bhikṣu duija dharmabhāṇaka (dharmapraçāraka) ra sūtradhāraka oḍ lohār sunār ṭamatākāserā cunārā āgrī damāi sārki gāyana bādī huḍke ityādi śilpakalājīvīharukā savai kar 36 raikar candra sūrya tārā rahuñjyāl tyāgi dinu bhayo// As we can see the Jogi's gloss adds after sūtradhāraka: Oḍ (TURNER, p. 61: 'mason'), Lohār (TURNER, p. 563: 'Iron-worker'), Sunār, Ṭamaṭā (? Coppersmith),

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Kāsero (TURNER, p. 80; 'Maker of brass pots'), Cunārā, Āgrī (TURNER, p. 32: 'a worker in a mine'), Damai, Sarkī, Gāyana, Bādī, Huḍke, etc. One would like to know the reasons which have inspired this commentary by the Jogi: any document which would enable us to discern more precisely the date at which the lower jāt settled in West Nepal would be welcome.

27. Here the text has umarāvaharu: I have followed the definition given by ŚARMA, p. I25.

28. bibāha kharca means literally 'marriage fees'. It is the sum, always fixed according to the jāt, to which the husband of an unfaithful wife has the right, and which he can claim from the wife's lover. Here is a table of these 'indemnities' drawn up from paragraph 43 on p. 92-93, vol. 5, of the same edition of the Code.

Upādhyāya bāhun	Rs.	I20
Rajput (=? Thākurī), Jaisī bāhun, Desī bāhun Devbhājyu bāhun, Terhaute bāhun	Rs.	II0
The jāt who wear the sacred thread, Chetri, Bhaṭ etc.	Rs.	I00
Das Nām Bhekhdhārī (see ŚARMA, p.503, and G.S. Ghurye, Indian Sadhus, Bombay, I964, p. 82-97)	Rs.	80
Gurung, Limbu, Kirati, Rai, Khavas and other jāt equal to them.	Rs.	60
Bhoṭe, Cepang, Darai, Majhī, Hāyu, Danavar, Kumāl, 'the jāt of the Pahari Matvali, and others equal to them among the jāt from whom water is accepted	Rs.	20
The jāt contact with whom requires purification by sprinkling of water	Rs.	I5

One must also take account of the facts given in the paragraphs I2 and I3 of the Newar jātko Ain, on p. 77-78 of the same volume. Here is the table:

Nepālī Malla	Rs.	80
Thar-Ghar (the text is not clear), Asal Śreṣṭa	Rs.	70
Other Śreṣṭa jāt, lower than the Asal Śreṣṭa, Banrā, Udās, and other jāt higher than the Jyapu	Rs.	60
Jyapu and other jāt equal to them	Rs.	40
Sālmi, Nakarmi, Chipa, Mali, Khusal Musal, Dunya, Citrakārī, and others equal to them	Rs.	35
Kasai, Kusle, Kulu, Dong and other jāt from whom water is not accepted, and contact with whom does not require purification by sprinkling of water	Rs.	I5
Poḍe, Cyāmakhalak, and others contact with whom requires purification by sprinkling of water	Rs.	I0
plus a fine of	Rs.	5

On the Danuwar, Majhi and Darai one can now read Dor Bahadur Bista, People of Nepal (Calcutta, 1967), p. II7-I22.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

29. Cf. R. Lingat, Les Sources du droit dans le système traditionnel de l'Inde (Paris-La Haye, 1967), p. 70-72.

30. Cf. Mulukī Ain, Jāriko, vol. 4, p. 83, para. 2.

31. A list of the different editions of the Code is to be found in M.C. Regmi, Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal, vol. IV, Berkeley, 1968, p. 235.

32. On the composition of the Kausal, drawn up in 1851 to formulate the Code, see Satish Kumar, Rana Polity in Nepal, London 1967, p. 117-118.

33. As this article was sent to the printers' in October 1967, I was not able to make use of the information on the lower jāt which appears in the special number of the review Objets et Mondes, vol. IX, fasc. I, Spring 1969, devoted to Nepal, particularly in the articles by M. Gaborieau, "Note préliminaire sur le dieu Maṣṭâ", p. 19-51, and Mrs M. Helffer, "Fanfares villageoises au Népal" p. 51-58. It has been equally impossible to compare my translation with the English translation with commentary of the first ten paragraphs published by Kesar Lall, under the title: "Nepal's fallen people" in Nepal Review, vol. I, no. 4, Kathmandu, February 1969, p. 188-91.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

The Janaipurnimā and the Gosāĩkuṇḍa

J. GONDA recently recalled the tradition which holds that "Viṣṇu gave India four great festivals, one to each of the four classes. To the Brahmins, he gave the day of the full moon in July/August (Śrāvaṇa): on that day, they attach bracelet-amulets to the wrists of their customers or employers; to the Kṣatriyas he gave dasaharā, to the Vaiśyas the festival of light, and to the Śūdras the "Holi". Nevertheless", continues our author, "even these festivals are celebrated not only by the groups in question, but by more or less the entire population"[1]. This observation, while valid as a generalisation about Indian festivals, also seems applicable to the Hindu regions of Nepal today[2]. Let us therefore examine the rituals celebrated in the latter country at the time of the full moon of Śravana.

C. Jest has published excellent photographs of the ceremonies which take place at the temple at Kumbheśvar, to the north of the town of Paṭan. In the short text which serves as a commentary to his photographs, the author stresses straightway, and with good reason, the fact that the festival he watched "brings together in the very same cult of Mahādev-Śiva, the most diverse ethnic groups, Bāhuns, Chetris, Newars, both Buddhists and Śivaites, Tamangs, their priests and mediators"[3]. I should like here to try to unravel some of the threads which are brought together on that day, and weave an unusual moment in the Nepalese religious calendar. In doing so, the complexity of the feelings, motives and beliefs that contribute to Hindu - Buddhist syncretism in this part of the Himalayan region will become apparent.

The day of the full moon of the month of Sāun is called Janaipurnimā in Nepāli, and on that day the upper jat, who wear the sacred thread (tagadhari), change their threads (janai). This ritual is definitely derived from ancient India, and reminds one of the yajñopavītam with which the high-caste adolescent was invested at the time of his initiation into Vedic studies (upanayana)[4]. The changing of the thread[5] is also accompanied, nowadays, in Nepal, by the ritual of a thread (rākhi, rikhi doro) being tied around the wrists of the faithful by the Bāhuns. This is why the janaipurnimā is also known by the name of rakṣā bandhanko dīn, "the day on which protective charms are fastened on". This too we can trace back to an Indian ritual past: "the raksabandhapurnima, at the full moon of Śravaṇa, is as its name indicates, the festival of the tying on of amulets"[6]. We may wonder whether the rākhi was not introduced to compensate in India itself those not entitled to wear the sacred thread. However that may be, in Nepal as in India, the wearing of the rākhi is considered to be an effective means of protecting oneself against diseases. In his book on the Newars, G.S. Nepali writes of the rākhi-purnimā: "The festival is observed ... by getting the Brahmin priest to tie a yellow thread round one's right wrist, a feature common to both

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Newars and Gorkhas. There is, however, a slight difference between these two communities with regard to the thread that is used. The Gorkha brahmins use only the yellow thread, whereas the Deo Bhaju Brahmins tie to the yellow thread several tiny packets containing incense, neem leaf, gorochan, vermillion, Duba-grass, mustard seeds, curd and rice". The same author adds: "It may be remarked that the cardinal attribute of Rakhi purnima in India is the tying of rakhi by a sister on her brother's wrist. This is, however, not so in Nepal where the Kija-puja (brother-worship) in Kartik is the only occasion for the manifestation of reverence to brother"[7]. Nevertheless, the role of women in this ritual does not seem to be limited to northern India, for it is mentioned in the Handbook of Castes and Tribes employed on Tea Estates in North East India[8], that is, in a Himalayan cultural context.

G.S. Nepali also noted that in Nepal, the full moon of Sāun "marks the completion of rice-planting"[9]. W. Crooke, without explaining exactly which area he was referring to, had already written: "connected with (the Rakshabandha Festival) ... is what is known as the barley feast, the Jayī or Jawāra of upper India, and the Bhujariya of the Central Provinces"[10]. And the above-mentioned Handbook of Castes ... draws attention to the "Solono", the festival celebrated "in honour of the grain, when Durvasa instructed Salone, the genius which rules the month of Sawan, to bind on rakhis or bracelets as charms to avert evil"[11]. It is on this very day of the janaipurnima that "the Newar farmers go to their fields to worship frogs by offering them food, consisting of nine types of pulses. After offering food they never visit the fields for four days. The worship of the frog is connected with the belief that it is the frogs that are responsible for the rains by their loud croaking. According to the Newars of Panga, frogs were once responsible for killing a daitya who was led by them into a paddy field and made to get stuck in the mud"[12]. Sc for Nepali; "while to the higher caste Newars Rakhi purnima is the occasion to celebrate the departure of Krishna to the world below the earth, Patal puri, to serve demon Bali, the lower caste Newars look upon it as the day of the triumph of virtue over evil; for it is believed that on this day another demon dies, the first one having already died on the Gathe-mangal day"[13]. Let us note that with the mention of Bali, we once again come back to Indian facts. S. Stevenson stresses the fact that in India "this same full moon day is also Baleva, the day sacred to King Bali, about whom the following legend is told: 'When Bali was king of the historic town of Vāmanasthalī (the modern Vanthalī, near Junagaḍh, in the Kaṭhiāwar) he performed a great sacrifice to which the god Viṣṇu came in the form of a dwarf. The god asked and was granted all the land that he should stride over in three steps. First he strode over heaven and hell, next over the upper worlds and then, behold, there was no place left for his stride. Seeing this, King Bali meekly offered his head and Viṣṇu, treading on it, thrust him down to Pātāla. The touch of Viṣṇu had, however, purified the King and so he obtained the boon he asked, namely that the god Viṣṇu should stay with him constantly. But the other gods found heaven itself empty without Viṣṇu, and his wife Lakṣmī felt herself no better than a widow, so she went down to Pātāla herself to plead with Bali. In order that she might speak without shame to the King, she tied a silken thread to the wrist of Bali, and so on this day many Brahmins go to their patrons and tie silken or golden threads to their wrists"[14].

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

One can find another legendary version of the original donation of a rakhi, written by a contemporary Nepalese author. One day when Indra was at grips with the Daitya-Dānava, he asked his guru Bṛhaspati for advice. Indraṇī intervened and told him not to be afraid as she knew of a way to conquer the Asuras. Indra begged her to tell him what it was. Whereupon, she summoned her own gurupurohit, and placed on Indra's wrist the rakṣā blessed by the mantras of the gurupurohit. Indra's spirit was strengthened thereby. As soon as they saw Indra set out for battle armed with the rakṣa, the Daitya-Danava fled. Ultimately, Indra was victorious[15].

The day of the full moon of Sāun is also known in Nepal as rikhi-tarpaṇi, an expression derived from Sanscrit ṛṣi-tarpaṇi, "a handful of water presented as libation to the ṛṣi"[16]. A modern Nepalese author maintains that, in the past, on that day the ṛṣi gathered together on the banks of rivers and held discussion on the śāstras[17]. However that may be let us join S. STEVENSON in noting that, in modern India, particular attention must be paid to the tarpaṇa on the day of the full moon of śrāvaṇa[18]. Saunpurne is also the day of Lākhe/Lākhya jātrā. This jātrā precedes the gai jātrā by one day. S. LEVI had already observed, a considerable time ago, that "the Lākhya-yātrā established by Gunakarma Deva the Thakuri, in order to celebrate the victory of Buddha over the tempter Māra, depicted the gods worshipping a triumphant Śākyamuni"[19]. Indeed, the chronicle, on which LEVI seems to have relied, reads as follows in the English version edited by D. WRIGHT (the Nepali text is not at my disposal): "Guna-Kama-deva ... established, or rather revived, the Hilya Jātrā, Krishna Jātrā, and Lākhya Jātrā. The last of these was in honour of Śākyamuni having obtained a victory over Namuchi-Māra when the latter came to distract his attention while he was sitting under a Bodhi-tree in profound meditation for the purpose of becoming a Buddha. After his victory, Brahma and other gods came to pay their respects to Śākyamuni for which reason the gods are represented in these jātrā. The Hilya, Krishna and Lākhya jātrās were in existence before the time that Kantipur was founded"[21]. Despite the silence on this score in G.S. NEPALI's book, the calendar date and the interpretation given to this jātrā by the Buddhists of Nepal are confirmed by two modern Nepalese authors[21]. In 1969, I myself saw the crowd disperse after the dance of Lākhe at Charikot on the janaipurnimā.

* * *

Since OLDFIELD, who provided the most comprehensive description[22], we have known that, at this same moment in the year, many pilgrims and worshippers gather together at Gosāĩkuṇḍa to bathe in the water of the lake and there make their devotions to the local Śiva. Yet the site of the lake has so far been described in extremely vague terms. OLDFIELD refers to a total of twenty-two lakes, and this is repeated by LANDON[23]. For a long time, it was held, wrongly it seems, that the Gosāĩkuṇḍa lake was the source of the river Trisuli Gandaki. A modern-day traveller, who is usually well-informed, and who climbed up there by the eastern route which runs towards Yol-mo and branches off towards the west at Thare Pati, describes the site as one approaches it from the pass to the south as follows: "At the top of this pass there is a tarn, such as one finds in

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

the lakes and hills of Cumberland. It is called Surjakund, the lake of the Sun, and, on the other side, the high valley descends in a series of four steps, on each of which there is a lake about a quarter of a mile long. The second highest of these lakes is Gosainkund, a Hindu place of pilgrimage, sacred to Śiva, and the reputed source of the Trisuli (trident) Gandaki river, though in fact it is only a tributary of the main stream that it feeds, the true source being in Tibet"[24]. However, C.JEST, who visited the site in 1969, was kind enough to give me the following much more precise information: "Seven lakes are situated in tiers in the dell of Gosāīkuṇḍa: from bottom to top they are: Bhutkunda, Nāgkuṇḍa, Gosāīkuṇḍa (situated at an altitude of 14.372 feet), Bhairunkuṇḍa, Saraswatikuṇḍa, Dudkuṇḍa, and Surjekuṇḍa, the highest lake". Also R. de MILLEVILLE kindly sent me photos of the area taken when it was not the season for pilgrimages, that is at a time when the place is free of the clouds that smother it during the monsoon.

This pilgrimage definitely dates back a long way. A document quoted by D.R. REGMI mentions that king Jaya Jakṣamalla Deva Ṭhākura arrived at Śivaluti (the ancient Newar name for the lake) bhadrapada Śukla dvadśi Śrāvaṇa nakṣatre buddhavara, in 1447 AD[25]. This ruler had climbed up there via the western route and the Trisuli Valley, the same route as that taken by the couple whose fate is the subject of the Newar song Silu me, sung nowadays in the valley by the Newars from the beginning of this season onwards, as is the Sinajya Me[26]. I should like here to draw attention to a short Tibetan description of Gosāīkuṇḍa. It is from the section on Nepal in the 'Jam-gliṅ Rgyas-bçad, which very soon will be edited and translated by T.V. WYLIE[27]. As we shall soon be able to read the Tibetan text, I shall restrict myself here to an English translation: "And then, near the road that passes between Skyid-groṅ and Nepal, and not far from the village of Nya-ko-ṭa, there is, in a hollow in the mountains, a place called Gau-san-sthan[28]. There, in a pond not unlike a lake, there is a natural stone figure that has a human shape. It is of grey-blue colour, its face hidden by a saffron-coloured scarf, and it seems to be lying on its back (protected by) nine cobra heads[29]. The heretics in India think it is Śiva (Dbaṅ phyug), and worship it frequently. But although it is famous throughout all India, many Buddhists in India and Nepal do not worship it. Moreover, among the Tibetans who call it Klu gan-rkyal and Klu gdol-pa[30] there are certainly many who do not worship it at all. Here is a story about it: 'Once (upon a time), the gods and the Asuras, wanting ambrosia, churned the ocean[31]. At first, the sun, the moon, Kamalā, Hayagrīva, etc., emerged from it. After that, an evil creature with nine heads emerged. When they continued to churn, a full bottle of poison appeared. Fearing that if it fell into the hands of the Asuras, they might (use it to) harm the gods, Śiva took the bottle of poison, and swallowed it down. The strength of the poison turned his throat blue. Unable to endure the scalding sensation in his body, he plunged into a cold river amidst a mass of icy mountains. The gods put his recumbent body in this place, say the Hindus. Now, despite its ordinary external appearance, which is natural, it is in fact an image of Arya-Avalokiteçvara (Phags-pa Thugs-rje Čhen-po). If anyone wants to know why this is so, it is because, although many heretics worship Śiva, the custom of erecting images of him is not very widespread. Moreover, Mahākaruṇika (Thugs-rje Čhen-po) has many of the characteristics of Śiva

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

(Phyugs-bdag)[32], and texts like the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha Sūtra claim that he is a manifestation of Avalokiteçvara (Phags-pa). Again, if anyone asks why this figure is famous among the Hindus as Śiva, it is because it already existed in the world long ago, before the Buddha came into the world. Since, in those days, no one in the world was reputed to be more powerful than Śiva (Dbaṅ-phyug)[33], the figure became famous in Hindu terms. While taking these arguments into consideration, one should not take the figure to be that of a Hindu god. There are, incidentally, other figures like this in the land of mountainous crags Ci-la na-gar[34], at Bha-dra-nā-tha[35] situated on the border of Tibet, Kaitar natha at Ba-ra nā-si[36], and Ti-la-ka nā-tha[37] situated in the direction Mṅa-ris, etc. Moreover, near the village called Bal-po rjoṅ, there is one known by the name of Pu-ṭa nī-la Kaṇṭha[38] which is on the whole similar to those mentioned above. There is also the one called Bha-lak-ni-la Kantha[39], near the Svayambhunāth stūpa and on the whole similar to the two preceding ones. The story attached to these two runs as follows: "Once (upon a time), a king of Nepal, blinded by his great sins, came to see the Avalokiteçvara (Phags-pa) at Gau-sān sthān. Unable to see anything at all, he turned back and asked his ministers why this was so. The ministers told him the story of the figure. After listening to this, even though he went there on several occasions, he could not see it. The king commanded his ministers: 'Call some craftsmen and order them to make a figure similar to the one at Gau-sān-sthān, whatever it is like, in another place'. When the ministers raised a statue in a place near Nya-koṭa, even though the king went there on several occasions to find it, he saw nothing at all. When it was raised at Bha-lak nī-la Kantha, very near Kathmandu, the first time the king visited it, he saw it", they say. As a matter of fact, I heard this story from the Gosāĩ (Gau sān dag). These three (figures) are called Klu gan-rkyal and Klu gdol-pa, etc., by the Tibetans, who, in fact, put forward several reasons for this. The Indians call the figure (sku) Nī-la Kanṭha. The Nepalese find some difficulty in pronouncing this and transform it into something like Li-la Kan-ĉha. Owing to the fact that the Tibetans understand lila to mean klu and Kan-ĉha to mean gan-rkyal, they cannot do otherwise than pronounce it this way".

Other jātrā are held elsewhere in Nepal on this day of the full moon in Saun. At Kalingchok, in East No. 2, Kalingchok Māī is worshipped at the top of a peak which is connected with the summit of the mountain by means of an iron bridge. The worshippers gather there accompanied by jhākri, and offer rice to the thān of the goddess, a black stone oozing moisture, half-imbedded in the earth and surrounded by thousands of triśul, deposited there by generations of passers-by. In front of another stone a few metres away and on the summit of the same peak (where there is only room for a hundred or so people at once), goats and lambs are sacrificed and the stone is smeared with their blood. Behind this stone, there rises a rough wooden board on which there is a drawing of two triśul. Feathers, torn from the fowls to be sacrificed, are placed on the top of the board, and the blood from the neck of the decapitated fowls is made to spurt out onto the board itself. When I visited the place on the 26th and 27th August 1969, a small hut near the main thān sheltered two Bāhun. From time to time, these men read from the Rudrāyamalatantra and intoned rudri (hymns of praise to Śiva). I was told that the ṛṣis come to live in this hut when the pilgrimage season is over. In the fog and the rain

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

and the skirmish of arrivals and departures (which are spread out over 48 hours at least), I estimated the crowd of worshippers to be about four or five hundred. The majority were Tamang; but there was also a substantial percentage of Sherpas. These Sherpas came from the region of Hilē, a Khambache village of forty houses, situated on the high ground between Barabhise and Kalingchok. On the 26th August people were still wondering whether the jātrā might not take place on a rocky and wooded peak a few hundred metres to the North of Hile; the Mai, dissatisfied with the offerings she had received, had stated, through the voices of jhākri, her intention of moving from Kalingchok to Hile. At the last moment, nothing came of this; but as a precaution the Mai was worshipped at Hile as well.

The lack of firewood and solid shelter also explains why the pilgrims do not all arrive on the summit of Kalingchok at the same time. Near the top, however, there is a small "hotel", like a large herdsman's shelter, where potatoes, soap, bidis, cigarettes, tea, sweets, milk, matches, etc., are sold to the worshippers. Further down, at twenty minutes' walking distance from the top, there is a stone shed, which, like the iron bridge mentioned above, seems to date back to the time of Chandra Samsher. Kalingchok Mai is the eldest of three sisters. The second holds sway at Dolakha, behind seven curtains, in a room on the first floor of a house decorated with interesting murals. She is called Tripura Sundari Mai[40]. The than of the youngest is in a grove a little way out of the village to the East. She is known by the name of Bal Kumarī[41].

NOTES

1. J. GONDA, Les Religions de l'Inde: II. L'Hindouisme récent 1965, (Fr. trans. by L. Jospin) Paris, Payot; pp. 326-327. For a recent description of the Holi in a Thāru village in Dang, see Objets et Mondes, IX(I): 1969, p. 69-80. For information on tihār, which corresponds to the divali in India, see Marc GABORIEAU and Mireille HELFFER, 'Problèmes posés par un chant de Tihār', L'Ethnographie, Paris 1968-9, p. 69-89.

2. For a good summary of the religious situation in Nepal today, see G. TUCCI, Rati-līlā, Geneva; 1969, pp. 7, 8, 13.

3. 'La fête du Janaipurnimā à Pāṭan', Objets et Mondes, VI(2), 1966, p. 143-152. C. JEST only mentions an oral tradition which traces the construction of the temple at Khumbhesvar, dedicated to Mahadev, back to King Jaya Sthiti Malla. Nonetheless, one should note the inscription, No. IX, reproduced and translated in C. BENDALL, A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research in Nepal and Northern India, Cambridge; 1886, pp. 83-87. This inscription, dated 1392 A.D. declares that he who offers libations with water from the tank at the full moon of Śrāvaṇa (line 11) may attain heaven. The inscription has been re-edited with variant readings in D.R. REGMI, Medieval Nepal, Part III, Calcutta; 1966, pp. 33-35. For information on Kumbhesvar, see also HEMRAJ SAKYA, Kumbheśvar itihas, Lalitpur, 2019, B.S. (30 pages).

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

4. We should note, however, that, in ancient India "the Hiraṇyakeśi Grhya Sūtra (I, I. 4-5) provides that upanayana should be performed for a Brahmaṇa in the spring, for a Kṣatriya in summer, and for a Vaiśya in śarad (autumn) and during the period of the waxing of the moon under an auspicious constellation, preferably under a constellation the name of which is masculine. Āpastamba-dharmasutra (I.I.18) prescribes the same reasons for the upanayana of boys of the three higher classes as the Hiranyakesigrhya, and the Bharadvaja-grhya also refers to the Naksatras that have a masculine name as preferable for upanayana". (P.V. KANE, "Lucky days for various acts in ancient India", in Proceedings of the 22nd Congress of Orientalists, II, Leiden; 1957, p. 460). With regard to investiture with the sacred thread in modern India, see in particular S. STEVENSON, The Rites of the Twice-Born, Oxford; 1920 p. 27-45. Further notes in: N.M. PENZER, The Ocean of Story, Delhi 1968, VII. p. 26; and J. HUTTON, Les Castes (Fr. trans.), Paris; 1949 p. 94. E.T. ATKINSON writes that "the common name for this festival in Kumaon is "Upa-Karma...". Elsewhere, he states: "Locally amongst the Tiwari Brahmans the ceremony of changing the sacrificial thread is performed on the third of the light half of Bhado, which is commonly known as the Haritali Tritiya from the Hasta Nakshatra or Asterism" (The Himalayan Districts of the North Western Provinces of India"; 1884, vol. II, ch. ix). D.R. REGMI points out that in the Newar regions "the upanayana ceremony was known in the middle ages also as Budana" (Medieval Nepal, Part II, Calcutta, p. 698).

5. These threads are not the same everywhere. For example, Ch. von FURER-HAIMENDORF noticed among the Chetris the distinction "between those entitled to wear a sixfold sacred thread and those invested with a janai of only three threads. This distinction", he continues, "does not entirely coincide with the differentiation between jharra and non-jharra. Whereas all Chetri of jharra status wear a sixfold janai, there are some non-jharra families whose members are customarily entitled to sixfold threads, while the men of other non-jharra families wear only a threefold janai. The decision to invest a boy with one or another type of janai lies ultimately with the family's Brahman purohit. This family priest will normally refuse to invest a Chetri's son from a Gurung of Tamang wife with a sixfold thread, but he may agree to do so in the case of a Chetri's unsanctioned union with a Chetri widow or divorcee". ("Unity and Diversity in the Chetri Caste of Nepal", pp. 34-35 in Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon, London, 1966). See also Sir R. TURNER, A comparative and etymological Dictionary of the Nepali language, London 1965, p. 207 under janai, for information concerning the threads of the Upaddhes and the Jaisis. For the threads currently used in India, see, for instance, HERE vol. III, p. 444.

6. L RENOU, L'Inde classique, Paris 1947, vol. I, p.59.

7. G.S. NEPALI, The Newars, Bombay; 1965, pp. 400-401. The fifth day of Tihar is called bhāī tika in Nepal. See M. GABORIEAU and M. HELFFER, op. cit., pp. 70-71 and note 11.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

8. Catholic Orphan Press, Calcutta, 1924, p. 68-69.

9. G.S. NEPALI, ibid.

10. The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India, Delhi 1968, vol. II, p. 293.

11. Ibid. Cf. the description of the festival of jari at Malana in Gazetteer of the Kangra District, 1897, ch. III, 'The people B: Social and Religious Life' p. 40, ff.

12. G.S. NEPALI, op. cit., p. 327. Cf. the tradition described in M. PUNYARATNA VAJRĀCĀRYA, Hāmro cāḍ-parva, Kathmandu, 2020 B.S., p. 48, which holds that the demon in question was Ghaṇṭasur/Ghaṇṭa-karna: this assertion does not agree with G.S. NEPALI's thesis which refers to "another demon".

13. G.S. NEPALI, op. cit., p. 401. For the description of the rituals commemorating the death of the demon Ghaṇṭa-Karna, at the time of the Gathe Mangal, see ibid., pp. 377-400.

14. S. STEVENSON, op. cit., p. 309. For the links between this legend and the divali/tihār, see HELFFER and GABORIEAU, op. cit., p. 71-2. For the rituals held at the full moon of Śrāvaṇa among Brahmins in India, see S. STEVENSON, pp. 307-311.

15. M. MANAVAJRA VAJRĀCĀRYA, Hāmro cāḍ-parvahuruko vivecanā, Kathmandu, 2025, B.S., p. 21-22.

16. Sir M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford, 1899, p. 226-227. For the Indian concept of tarpana, which he translates as "satiating with water", see P.V. KANE, History of Dharmaśāstra IV, Poona 1953, index, p. 910. S. STEVENSON, op. cit., p. 229-230, explains the different modern methods of Deva-tarpaṇa, Ṛsi-tarpaṇa, Pitr/Yāmatarpaṇa. Cf. also J. PRZYLUSKI, 'Les Rites d'avalambana', in Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, I, Brussels 1932, p. 221-225. Let us also call attention to the fact that according to C. JEST, (loc. cit.) the brick watertank of the temple of Kumbheśvar is called ṛikhi-tarpani: for different Indian lists of the names of the ṛṣis, see for instance J. DOWSON. A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, London, 1950, p. 268, Babu MĀDHAVAPRASAD SARMA, Pujādānādi Samgripradarśika, a manual which is widely used in Nepal (published in Benares in 2020 B.S., p. 7), provides the following list of the seven ṛṣis: Kaśyapa, Atri, Bharadvaja, Viśvamitra, Gautama, Jamadagni, Vaśiṣṭha.

17. M. MANAVAJRA VAJRĀCĀRYA, op. cit., p. 15.

18. Op. cit., p. 308.

19. Le Népal, 1905-1908, Paris, t. II, p. 40.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

20. D. Wright History of Nepal Calcutta 1958, p. 92. For information on the conflict of Māra and the Bodhisattva, see for example A. FOUCHER, La Vie du Bouddha d'après les textes et les monuments de l'Inde, 1949, Paris, p. 156-160; and on the role played by Māra in Buddhism, E. LAMOTTE, L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa), Louvain, 1962, p. 204-206, note 121. The popularity of this episode of the Buddhist legend is immense. For example, N. POPPE has just edited and translated into English a Mongolian manuscript version: The Twelve Deeds of the Buddha, Wiesbaden, 1967, text, p. 58-68, translation, p. 151-162. Cf. also L. LIGETI. "A propos de la version mongole des 'Douze Actes du Buddha", in AOH, t. xx, fasc. I, Budapest, 1967, p. 59-73, esp. p. 71.

21. M. PUNYARATNA VAJRĀCĀRYA, op. cit., p. 49, and MANAVAJRA VAJRĀCĀRYA, op. cit., p. 15-18. The first of these authors adds, without further explanation, that at the janaipurnimā, according to an ancient tradition, the pasni (first solid food =Sk. annaprāśan) is given to young crows born during the year.

22. H. OLDFIELD, Sketches from Nipal, London 1880, I, p. 29 ff.

23. P. LANDON, Nepal, London 1928, Vol II, p. 36.

24. D. FORBES, The Heart of Nepal, London 1962, p. 123. For another description of the eastern route, with a map, see ELLA MAILLART, 'Reise zum Gosainkund', in Berge der Welt, Das Buch der Forscher und Bergsteiger, Graz, 1963, p. 137-148.

25. See D.R. REGMI, Medieval Nepal I, Calcutta 1965 pp. 433-434 and 437, 438 (where "Doc. 31" should be corrected to read "Doc. 32").

26. PUNYARATNA VAJRĀCĀRYA, Hāmro cad-parva, p. 50: Nevabjātimā yahī dindekhi Sinajya me asāre gīt arthāt mallār rāgko gīt ra sīlume ... gāuna thālincha. With regard to nothern India, reference may be made to W. KAUFMANN, The Ragas of North India, New Delhi 1968 p. 394 ss. where the author writes: "The Mallar (occasionally written Malhar) ragas are ascribed to the Kafi thata. These are ragas which are performed primarily in the monsoon, the rainy season which lasts from the middle of June to the end of September. During the monsoon, the Mallar ragas can be performed at any time of the day or night. Outside of the rainy season, however, the ragas are performed only in the late afternoon or evening". With regard to the asare gīt in Nepal, see Kajīman KANDAṄVA, Nepāli jan sahitya, Kathmandu 2020 B.S., p. 16-18. The Newari text and the English translation of Silu me have been published by KESAR LALL, 1969, 'The Song of Silu', in Vasudha 12 (10: sept-Oct.); pp. 25-30, 49-50. The modern Newari name for Gosāīkuṇḍa is Silu. Recordings of Sinajya Me are to be found in the Bake collection at the S.O.A.S. in London.

27. I offer my sincere thanks to T.V. WYLIE who kindly sent me a photo-copy of the manuscript which is at Washington University, Seattle,

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

and allowed me to read his work. With regard to the date and author of the manuscript - 1820, the Bla-ma bcan-po- see T.V. WYLIE, The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam gling rgyas- bshad Serie Orientale Roma, 1962, p. (xvi). Cf. now J.W. DE JONG, TP LIV (1-3) 1968 p. 174-175, note 1. My translation begins on page 5b. line 6 of the manuscript, and ends on page 6b, line 7.

28. Gausān = in Nepali Gosāī. On the subject of the gosāī, see W. CROOKE, HERE VI, Edinburgh, 1913, p. 332-333; and in particular, G.S. GHURYE, Indian Sadhus, Bombay, 1964, p. 82-97. In a discussion about the establishment of new centres of worship, the author writes: "Such a centre is called sthāna, popularly mispronounced in Northern India as asthāna, meaning 'spot, place'". For the Nepalese kuṇḍa, see B.C. ŚARMA, Nepāli śabda koś, Kathmandu, 2012 B.S., p. 187.

29. This description would be more applicable to the Viṣṇu at Balaju. See, for example, D. SNELLGROVE, 'Shrines and Temples of Nepal', Arts Asiatiques, 1961, VIII (2), p. 112.

30. For the expression gan-rkyal, see R.A. STEIN, 'Le Linga des danses masquées lamaïques et la théorie des âmes' in Festscrift Liebenthal, "Sino-Indian Studies" V(3-4), p. 202-203. The word is equally applicable to a woman, a demoness, or a godess. With regard to gdol-pa, see S.C. DAS, A Tibetan-English Dictionary, Calcutta, 1902, p. 663.

31. Cf. for example H.H. WILSON, The Viṣṇu Purāṇa. A system of Hindu Mythology and Tradition..., Calcutta, 1961, p. 66-67, n. 8.

32. Phyugs-bdag = sk. Paśupati, "lord of livestock", an epithet for Śiva.

33. Dbaṅ-phyug = sk. Iśvara, an epithet for Śiva (S.C. DAS, A Tibetan English Dictionary, Calcutta, 1902, p. 909).

34. Çi-la na-gar is definitely Srī Nagar, situated on the left bank of the Alakananda river in Garhwal, and visited by Antonio de Andrada in 1624 and Francisco de Azevedo in 1631. For some references, see C. WESSELS, Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, La Haye, 1924, p. 343. G.W. Briggs explains: "At Srī Nagar in Gahrwal, Goraknāth is worshiped as an incarnation of Śiva, and there is an establishment of Kanphatas at that place...Below Sri Nagar there is a cavern dedicated to Goraknāth which contains his image, gilded. The figure is about six inches high. The Yonilinga is also found in the cave, and in front is a temple of Bhairom...the shrine consists of three recesses in the rock..." (Goraknāth and the Kānphata Yogis, Calcutta, 1938, p. 79-90).

35. With regard to Bha-dra-nā-tha, see W. CROOKE, HERE 11, Edinburgh, 1909, p. 325, under Bad(a)rinath: "the place takes its name from the worship of Viṣṇu in his manifestation as Badarinatha or Badarinarayana 'Lord of the "badrī" or jujube tree, ("Zizyphus jujuba")' which,

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

however, does not grow there". According to Atkinson, "the idol in in the principal temple is formed of black stone or marble about three feet high". See the descriptions given by ANDRADE, de RAPER and d'AZEVEDO in WESSELS, op. cit., pp. 50-52, 96-98.

36. The Tibetan author is well-informed. Information on the subject of Kedarnath in Benares can be found in M.A. SHERRING, The sacred city of the Hindus: an Account of Benares in Ancient and Modern Times, London; 1868, p. 147-150. There one reads: "The Bengali Tola, with its neighbourhood, is bestrewn with shrines and deities... But the temple most frequented by the Bengalis, and which holds the position of a cathedral or chief ecclesiastical edifice in this district of the city is the temple of Kedāreswar, or as it is called, with equal propriety, Kedārnāth. This is a large building, rising from the banks of the Ganges, from which a fine stone ghat descends to the bed of the river. It stands in the middle of a spacious court at the four corners of which are four temples crowned with domes... within the temple is the god Kedāreswar, who is represented simply by a stone, the emblem of Śiva; for Kedāreswar is, strictly speaking only another name for this divinity. Kedār is properly no name of a person, but of a place in the Himālayas. Śiva, it is believed, resided there; and hence it is called Kedāreswar or Kedārnāth 'Lord of Kedār'. Yet, in Benares, there is a tradition that Kedār was a devout brahman, who, in company with the Muni Vāsistha, visited a mountain forming part of the Himalaya range, where he died. At his death, it is said, Śiva endowed him with the attributes of a deity, and allowed him to be worshipped in conjunction with himself, and through the same symbol. Appearing to Vāsistha in a dream, he said he would comply with any request he might make; whereupon Vāsistha requested that he would take up his residence in Benares. Such is the origin of the temple here as given in the Kasikhaṇḍa. There is a temple dedicated to Kedāreśwar near the famous temple of Harināth, on mount Himāchal, to which so many pilgrims yearly resort besides that in Benares". See also W. CROOKE, HERE VII,Edinburgh; 1913, p. 68 for the Kedārnāth of Gahrwal, near Badarināth.

37. See J. VOGEL, "Triloknāth", Asiatic Society of Bengal Journal LXXI (1), 1902, p. 35 ss. The god of the Candrabhāga valley, who holds sway in a Śikhara said to have been built by the Paṇḍavas, is "no other than the boddhisattva Avalokiteçvara". Nonetheless, in the town of Mandi, "we meet again with the name Triloknāth, but here to indicate Śiva ...".

38. Pu-ṭa nī-la kantha = in Nepāli, Budhānīlakaṇṭha. See S. LÉVI, op. cit., I, p. 68; II, p. 394; and P. LANDON, op. cit., I, p. 45. One can read about this in Nepali in Lalitajaṅga SIJĀPATI, Nepālkā lokkathā, Lalitpur, 2024, B.S, p. 45-47. Notice that the short Bal-yul gnas-yig (bal-yul bya-rgod phuṅ-po ri'i dgon-pa'i dpe) correctly identifies this site: klu gan-rkyal/nā rā yan sthan/bu ra ni la kan ṭa (p. 4b).

39. Bha-lak nī la kantha = in Nepali, Bāla Nīlakaṇṭha. See S. LÉVI, op. cit., I, p. 366-368; and LANDON, op. cit., I, p. 227-228. The images

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

of Budhānīlakaṇṭha and of Bālā-Nilakaṇṭha, are, whatever the lama Bcan-po claims, of Viṣṇu in the aspect of Seṣa- Nārāyaṇa. Note also that the day of the pilgrimage to Bālaju does not coincide with the janaipurnimā. Photo of Bālāju, in E. and R.L. WALDSCHMIDT, Nepal Art Treasures from the Himālaya, London, 1969, plate VIII, opposite page 25.

40. See S. LÉVI, op. cit., I, pp. 381-382. Tripura Sundarī is also extremely popular in Assam. See B.K. KAKATI, The Mother Goddess Kāmākhyā, Gauhati; 1961 p. 49-53.

41. Notes taken in the course of fieldwork for the CNRS within the framework of the RCP 65.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Word Index

Ābhasvara 75
Abhidharmakośa 77
Aden-mu 3
Aggaññasutta 75
Āgrī 294
Aizawl 66
Akaṇiṣṭha 54
Āmisambhoga 77
Ammar ling 137
Ananda 36
Anantapur 66
Angami 65,70,74
Annam 20
Anukaran words 261
Ao 74
Aoh 65
Ao Nagas 99
Āpastamba-dharmasūtra 303
Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad 73
arghun 155,156
Arya-Avalokiteçvara 300
Aryan 44,46,47, 48,62
Asal Śreṣṭa 294
Asarh 41
Aśoka 12
Assam 76
Assur 40
Asuras 300
Aśvaghosa 10
Atri 304
Avalokiteçvara 53,300
Badariṇātha 306
Bādī 282,289,294
Bādībhād 282
Bahnar 81,86
Bāhuns 297
Baid 114
Baiga 63,69,77
Baitarani 30
baksa 157
Balabhadra 31
Bālājyu 197,306,308
Balāmī 292
Bāla Nīlakaṇṭha 307
Balarama 33
Baleva 298
Bali 83,97,298
Bana 54
bandin 265
Bangā ling 139
Bang tu 62
Bānrā 294
Bantok Igorots 97
Barabuḍur 1,4,9,13,36, 42,52,55,59, 77,80
Bara Danda 34,51
Barāha 277,280
Ba-ra nā-si 301
Barma 161
Bāsu 28,30
Bāsudev 277
Basudeva 33
Bengal 55
Bengalis 2
Berrwā 276,277,279,280
Betā ling 139
Bhado 303
Bha-dra-nāthā 301
Bhāgavata Purāṇa 48,49,59
Bhāgirathi 136
Bhairunkuṇḍa 300
Bhāi Ṭikā 303
bhakārī 187
bhākha 239,247,253
Bha-lak nī-la Kantha 301
Bharadvāja 304
Bhārhūt 58
Bhāt 265
bhāt 290,291
Bhāṭ 294
Bhayar thān 268,270,271,273
Bhikṣu 77
Bhimpedi 230
Bhogamandapa 32
Bhoṭe 292,294
Bhoṭya 292
Bhuiyas 73
Bhūmi 77
Bhumij 73

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Bhuñjati 75
Bhutkuṇḍa 300
bibāhe kharca 294
Biṣesvar 222
Bison Hills 70
Black T'ai 98
Blue God 29
Blue Mountain 28
Bodh-gaya 31,57
Bodhi 36
Bodhnāth 231
Bogshas 273
Bombay 91
Bon-dkar 150
Bondo 99
Bon-nag 150
Bon-po 17
Borneo 85,97
Boyas 66
Brahmā 29,55
Brāhmaṇa 5,7,13,20
58,78,
Brahmaputra 136
Brahmin 73
Bṛhaspati 299
Budāna 303
Buddhacarita 10
Buddhaghoṣa 27
Budhānīlakaṇṭha 307
Budicitā 137,139
Burdwan 41,55
Burma 40,56,62,72
75,76,98
Burman 37,53
Burmese 2,75
Caḍ 275
camara 50
Cambodia 51,53,79,90
Cam Muong 50
Canāro/Cādāro/
Cunaro 293
Cangi 145
Cattack 30
Cepāng 292,294
Ceylon 51,52,56
Champa 107
Champhai 66
Chams 100,105
Chang-ba-hang 145
Charay 81
Charikot 299
Chen-nong 61
Chetri 294,297,303
Chilka 44
China 42,56,61,63,68
69,70,71,79,80
96,
Chingnar 43
Chingpaw 2
Chins 13,83,104
Chipā 294
chir/cir 272
Chittagong 49
Chota Nagpur 73
Citrakārī 294
Conjeveeram 35
Coorg 66,70
Cuḍārā 282,293
Cunārā 282
Curauṭe Moslem 286,287,293
Cyāmakhalak 281,282,288
289,294
Cyopge 146
cyura 275
Dafla 91
dāgbatti 226
Dahrai 292
Daita 37,48
Daitya 298
Damāi 282,290
Dānava 299
Danavār 292,294
Dāṅg 267,281
Dan Pasar 83
Danuvār 292,294
Darai 292,294
Darlac 86,87
Das Nām Bhakhdhārī 294
Dayaks 85
Demodaŭrā 279
Desi bāhun 294
Deva-tarpaṇa 304
Devbhājyū bāhun 294
Devundara 56
Dharma-sámbhoga 77
Dharmaśāstra 304
Dhobi 282,293,285
Dhruvabera 35
Ḍhunḍup 140
dhvaja 272
ḍoli 228
Dieng 89

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digha-nikāya 75
Dihri 68
Dola 31
Ḍom 289,292
Ḍong 137,294
Donggyāl 137
Don-gsum mi la sṅon-mo 4
Dorje gyaram 135
Dove 69
Dpal-ldan lha-mo 16
Dto-mba 146
Duba-grass 298
Dudhkuṇḍa 300
Dunya 294
dursa 142
Endau 85
Festival of Merit 6,18
formulas of calling attention 259
Gāine 115,116,169 282,288,289 290
Gaita 63
Gammi-ma 145
Gandaki 300
Gandhara 53
Ganeśmān 222
gan-rkyal 306
Ganvā 131,148
garbhagṛha 35
Gathe-mangal 298,304
Gauhati 52
Gauras 31
Gāuš Aēvōdāta 5
Gau-sān sthān 301
Gautama 304
Gāyana 294
Gayomard 5
Genghis Khan 55
Genna 65,70
Gesar 10
Ghaṇṭāsur/Ghaṇṭa Karna 304
Ghasi 73
ghevā 134,153, 154,155
Ghorahi 276
Ghotul 55,56,63,69
Gilgit 128
Gliṅ 4
Gonds 5,6,10,43 63,66,77
Gongbo 161
Gorkha 298
Gosāī 301,306
Gosāīkuṇḍa 299,300
Greater India 103
Great Male 46
Gubhaju 122
Gunakarma Deva 299
Guṇḍhichā 51
Guṇḍichā-bari 33,44,48,51
Guru-bābu 120,121
Gurungs 125,126,127 290,294,303
gurvä 268
Haja 91
Haka Chin 69
Halang 81
Hanuman Bir Pañca-mukhi 122
Hara 31
Hara-Huru 289
Hari-sinha-deva 114
Haritali Tritiya 303
Hasta Nakshatra 303
Hayagrīva 300
Hāyu 292,294
Helambu 148
Hile 302
Hilya 299
Himawonta 38
Hiranyakaśipu 271
Hiranyakesigrhya 303
Hnon 2
Hôbôgirin 75,79
Holange 132,133
Holesum 78
Holi 267,274
Holikā 269
Hos 73
Houen-touen 79
Hrilh 66
Huḍke/Hurke 282,293,294
Hvāi 130,131,147
India 53,58,59,69,70 72,75,76,77,78 79
Indochina 49,52,55,70, 79,80
Indonesia 49,76,80,82,101

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Indra 299
Indradyumna 28,29,30,51
Ja 69,78
Jagannātha 27,30,31,33
40,43,44,45
48,49,51,52
53,57,58,59
78
Jaipur 28
Jaisī bāhun 294
Jamadagni 304
Janai 303
Janaipurnimā 151,297,302
Janaklāl 223,226
Janakpura yatra 51
Jangbahadur Rana 133,286,288
Janma-pradayini 51
janti 228
Japhu 123
Jarai 86
Jārī Ain 285
jāt 297
jātrā 299,301,302
Jaya Jakṣamalla Deva-Ṭhākura 300
Jaya Prakās Malla 116
Jayasthiti Malla 288,302
Jikten tāmchyo 130
Juggernaut 27,80,101
Junāgadh 298
Jur Sital 69
Jyāpu 294
Jyolsum 140
Jyotipāla Sūtra 36
Kachin 2,9,80,82,98
Kacon 56
Kadārā 282,283.290
293
Kāgate 132,133,149
Kaitār-nātha 301
Kajung-ma 145
Kala 2
Kalebara 41
Kalimati 122
Kalingchok 301,302
Kaliungun 84
Kamalā 300
Kamar 66,70
Kāmāru ling 139
Kāmī 123,282,283
291,293
Kampong Piangu 85
Kangra 304
Kansou 71
Kantipur 299
Karen 73,78,82,
90,99,104
Karkhā 237
Karo 84
Kartik 298
Kaṣāi 282,283,285
292,294
Kaseng 81
Kāsero 294
Kāśyapa 36,304
Katchins 25
Kāṭhiāwār 298
Kausal 295
Kedārnath 307
Kentung 101
Kha 90
Khas 99
Khasis 82
Khalyan 270
Khambuling 137
Khangnakia 64,65
Khas 25
Khasi 232
Khavās 294
Khicari 277,280
Khisong 64
Khmu 50
Khondistan 11
Khumbeśvar 297,302,304
Khurda 51
Khusal Musal 294
K'iang 162
Kiao 71
Kija-pūjā 298
Kipat 161
Kirāti 294
Klu-ābum 4
Klu gan-rkyal 300,301
Klu gdol-pa 300,301
Kodari 124
Kol 73
Kolami 74
Koles 78
Kolesum 78
Kolhan 73,78
Konagaon 63
Kond 64
Kongpur Shiam 66
Kontu 81

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Kontum 86
Kouen 79
Krishna 298,299
Kṛṣṇa 33
Kṛṣṇajanmastami 274
Kṣatriya 46,73,297
303
Kukis 104
Kuldevatā 134,147
Kulu 17
Kulū 282,282,285
291,292,294
Kumāl 292,294
Kumaon 165,303
Kumārī 116,117
Kusle 282,283,285
292,294
Kusungthu 141,166
Lacedemonia 69
Ladakh 79
Lahoul 16,18
Lahu 92,100
Lake Anawadat 38
Lākhe/Lākhyā 299
Lakhers 25,64,70,
91,97,99
Lamet 89,98
Laos 40,89
Laotian 76,79
Lao-tse 3
Lapaik 2
Lāure 210
lde'u 139
Ldoṅ 147
lekh 190
Leopard 69
Lepchas 3,10,80
Lhāmin 140
Lhota Nagas 99
Lila Kan-ča 301
Limbu 294
Lingo 43
Lin-yi 17
Lohār 293
Luksom-mo 3
Lushei Kukis 66,70,82
Magars 123,290,291
Māghe Saṅkranti 275,280
Mahādev 77,297,302
Mahākāruṇika 300
Mahāprasād 31,32,50
Mahapuruṣa 53
Mahātmyas 28
mahatuā 268
Mahāvastu 75
Maheśvara 117
Mahīsāsaka 80
Mai 302
Maitreya 57
Mājhi 292,294
Malana 304
Malay Archipelago 53,69
Malaysia 85
Mālī 294
Mallār rāgā 305
Malva 28
Man 19,83
Manasarowar 136
Manchat 15,16
Man Cuoc 83
Mandalay 40
Mandla 63
mane 142,166
Manipur 202
Man La Tien 83
Manu 1,47
Māra 299,305
Marco Polo 104
Marias 63,69
Marxism 110
māsinyā jāt 292
Masivadi 51
Maṣṭā 295
Maths 50
Mausighar 51
Māyādevī 36
Mayan 2
Mayel 80
Ma Yuan 19
Medieval India 30
Melanesian 45
Mentawei 84
Meriah 5,72,91
metjaru 83
metrical formulas 237
Miao 2,9
Mi-ñag 126
Minangkabau 101
Ming 72
Mleccha 282,292,293
Mnong 86
Moḍup 140
Mog 49
Moï 11,82,105,107

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Mongol 57
Mongolia 55
Mon-Khmer 83,92
Moslem 285
Mosso 100
Muglān 122
Mulukī Ain 281,287
Mummi 144
Munda 62
mundum 135
Mu'o'ng 69,71,72
80,83,99
Murgulen 137
Muria 42,56,63,
99
Murmi 129,144,145
292
Musicanians 69
Musulman 285,286
Nabayauvana 37
Naga 82,90,
96,97
Nagas Angami 6,11,65,70,
72,74,76,77,
78,92,99,100,
104
Nagas Lhota 72,74
Nagas Sema 74,78
Nagkuṇḍa 300
Nakarmi 294
Naksatras 303
namāsinya jāt 292
Nārāyaṇa 277
Nats 38
Negri Sembilar 101
Netrotshava 37
Newar 297,300,303
Newār jātko Ain 294
New Year 82,92,96,
100
Ngazu 72
Ngoc-lac 80
Nirmālya 31
Nuā Kalebara 41
Nya-ko-ṭa 300,301
Nyepi 83
Oceania 69
Oḍ 293
Odra 27,30
Onesicritus 69
onomatopoeia 260,261
Orissa 27,28,44
46,49,50
Oriya 31,41
Ourga 57
Pāccitiya 77
Padmasambhava 19,133
Pagan 56
pahari jāt 292
Palaung 75
Pāli 38,75
Pana 65
Pandas 31,32
Paṇḍavas 270,273
Panga 298
Pán-kou 3
Pariharis 31
parsanu 280
Parvatī 31
Pātāla 298
Patalpuri 114,298
Pāṭan 297
Patanīya 77
Patengs 83
patiyā 284
patukī 182
Pazusata 65,70
Pear 99
Penjab 69
Penna 66
Pentatonic I 244
Pentatonic IV 245,246
Pentatonic V 245,246
phed 263
Phoḍub 140
Pinta-vihāṛa 80
pitambara 226
Pitr/Yāmatarpaṇa 304
Pnongs 81
Poḍe 281,282,294
Polynesia 81
Pon-bo 132,133
pote 184
prahelikā 139
Prahlad 269
Prajāpati 1,5,6,8,12,13
24,46,48,49,73
78
prajātantra 211
praśnottara 139
Pratāp Singh 288
prāyascit 284

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Prome 27
Prthivi Narayan Shah 117
Purāṇas 28
Puri 27,31,36,37 40,41,44,46 47,48,49,50 52,53,54,78
Puruṣa 1,7,9,10, 46,48
Puruṣasūkta 1,5,6,8,40 47,48,74,76 288
Puruṣottama Kṣetra 31
Puroṣottama Mahātmya 45
Purushasūkta 78
Puthian 66
pyen 240,250
pycnon 240
Quang-tri 88
Rāi 294
Raj Gonds of Adilabad 92,100
Rajlaksmi Devi 133
Rākhi 297,298,299
Raksābaṇdha 297,298
Ramā 147
Rangoon 40
Rānī-pokhari 224
Rath Jātrās 31,33
Ratnavedi 51
Rāvana 206
Reddi 66,70
Rengma 72
Rengma Nagas 99
Reungao 88,98
Ṛg Veda 1,5,9
Rhade 86,87,98
Rikhitarpani 299
riṅga 158
Rôi Gang 88,89
Rongbā Sāngge 141
Ṛṣi-tarpaṇi 299,304
Ruichen Cyopge 130
Sailas 27
Sailung 133
Saisapas 153
Sakti 35
Śâkyamuni 37,53,57
Salang 81
Sālmi 294
Salupakia 64
Salva 69
Sambhalpur 50
Saṃbhoga 77
Saṃbhogakāya 50,75,77
Saṃbhojaka 77
Saṃbhojana 77
Saṃbhuj 77
Samre 99
Saṃvāsa 77
Sanghara 32
Sānggā ling 139
Sangat, Sanghat, Sango 292
Santal 68,69,73
Sanut-Mung 3
Sapahlaisapa 65
Sārañgi 176
Saraswatikuṇḍa 300
Sārkī 282,283,291,294
Sarma 123
Satlaj 136
Sāun 297,298,299,301 298
Saura 279
Savars 28,50
Sdang 81
Sedang 86
Semurgaon 43
Semuwa 80
Serampore 49
Shans 2,72
Shan States 92
Sherpas 124,126,129,143
Siam 75,80,90
Siamese 69,71
Sikari 119
Sikkim 80,118,120
Śi-la na-gar 301
Silu 305
Silu me 300,305
Siṃha Darbar 201,220
Simsyābā 133
Sinājyā me 300,305
Sindhu nadī 136
Sing-bonga 73,78
Singhalese 27,75
Sinhadvāra 51
Sittang 27,73
Śiva 30,35,72,300 301
Śivaites 297
Śivaluti 300
Sixteen perfumes 219
Siyena Bhotias 144

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Skyid-groṅ 300
Snanavedi 32
Snana Jātrā
Son Kuar 43
Śrāvaṇa 297,302,304
Śrāvastī 36
Srê 97
Śrī 220,221
SriGuṇḍichā 37
Śrikshetra 27
Srī Nagar 306
Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po 152
Sseu-tch'ouan 100
Stiengs 87,98
Stiria-raj 63
Suars 33
Subhadra 31
Suddhamavati 27
Śūdra 46,73,285
297
Sue 81
Sumatra 84,97
Sunār 282,293
Supāre 217
Sur 239
Surjakuṇḍa 300
Suvarnadvīpa 49
Svayambhunāth 301
Śvetadvīpa 51
Syssyties 69
Tāgādhāri 297
T'ai 25,40,50,71
76,79
Tamang 118,126,129.
297,303
Ṭamaṭa 293
Ṭambā 130,131
Tambā Kaiten 130,131
Tareng 81
Tare Pati 299
Ta'saungmon 37
Tashey-takbo-thing 3
Tāvatinsa 38
Tawadeintha 38,54
Tawāif 293
Tchouang Tseu 79
Teli 282,292
Telugu 66
Terhaute bāhun 294
Thadou Kukis 90,91
Thai 83,91
Thai blancs 89
Ṭhākurī 294,299
Ṭhami 144
thar 209
Thar-ghar 294
Thaton 27
thego 261
Tihār 303
til 275
Tirsul gandak 196
Tiwari 303
Tleulia 64
Tleuliabopa 64
Tonkin 82,98
Toskapel 63
Toungtha 81,96
Tribhuvan 212,213,214,215
216,217,218
Triloknāth 16,307
Tripura Sundarī 302,308
Trisuli 299,300
Tsa Khmu 88
ṭuppa 264
Tu-Ywa 74
U-ba-hang 145
Udās 294
Ugandaw 38
Upādhyāya 281,288,294
Upa-Karma 303
Upanayana 297
Upaniṣad 5,7,59,73,78
Upas 66
Upulvan 56
Uriyas 51
Urgen ling 137
urid 275
Uṣṣa 27
Utturukuru 54
Valāmī 292
Verse forms 235,236
Vaiśya 46,297,303
Vāmanasthalī 298
Vanthali 298
Vaśiṣṭha 304
Vedas 45,46,48
59,73,74
Vidyāpati 55
Vientiane 98
Vietnam 71,75,76
95,98,107
Vijaya 31

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Vijayadvāra 51
Vimalakīrtī 305
Vinaya 77,80
Vinh-an 88
Vishnu 28,30,31,33
297,298
Viṣṇumatī 225
Viṣṇu Purāṇa 1
Viśvamitra 304
Vṛṣotsagara 71
Wou 68
Yajñopavītam 297
Yama 30
Yao 92,100
Ymir 1
Yojanas 54
Yolmāli 132,133
Yol-mo 299
Yu 61
Yunnan 76,100
Zu 66

305.8
M145e

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)